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GOVERNOR HAMMOND'S ADDRESS BEFORE THE SOUTH CAROLINA
INSTITUTE, 1850.

PROSPECTS OF THE COTTON INTEREST; POSITION OF SOUTH CAROLINA; INFLUENCE
OF MECHANIC ARTS AND MANUFACTURES; WHAT THE SOUTH IS CAPABLE OF IN
COTTON MANUFACTURES; LABOR AT THE SOUTH; FACILITIES FOR STEAM AND
WATER POWER; EMPLOYMENT FOR THE POORER CLASSES, ETC.

THE Institute, whose first annual exhibition is about to be opened, is something new in South Carolina. If it succeeds in its purposes, a new era in our history will be dated from this anniversary. Hitherto our State has been as purely agricultural as a civilized community can ever be; and for the last sixty years our labor has been chiefly devoted to the production of one market crop. The value of this agricultural staple has been for many years gradually declining, and for the last seven or eight has not afforded to our planters an average net income exceeding four and a half per cent. per annum, on their capital. Within the last few months prices have somewhat rallied, but there is not the slightest ground on which to rest a hope, that they will ever hereafter, for any series of years, average higher than they have done since 1840. On the contrary, it is inevitable that they must fall rather lower. The consumption of cotton, even at late average prices, cannot keep pace with our increasing capacity to produce it; and the article may therefore be said to have fairly passed that first stage of all new commercial staples, in which prices are regulated wholly by demand and supply, and to have reached that, in which, like gold and silver, its value, occasionally and temporarily affected by demand and supply, will in the main be estimated by the cost of production. Now, on lands that enable the planter to produce an average crop of two thousand pounds of ginned cotton, for each full hand, or for every thousand dollars of capital permanently invested, he may realize seven per cent. per annum, on his capital, at a net price of five cents per pound, or five and a half to six cents in our southern ports. There is an abundance of land in the South and Southwest, on which, unless the seasons change materially, or the worm becomes an annual visitor, all the cotton which the world will consume for many generations to come, may be grown at this rate. We have ample slave labor to cultivate it; and the result is inevitable, that the average of prices must soon settle permanently about this point.

If these views are correct, what are we to do in South Carolina? But a small portion of the land we now cultivate will produce two thousand pounds of ginned cotton to the hand. It is thought that our average production cannot exceed twelve hundred pounds, and that a great many planters do not grow over one thousand pounds to the hand. A thousand pounds, at five cents net, will yield about two per cent., in cash, on the capital invested; and twelve hundred pounds, but three per cent., after paying current plantation expenses. At such rates of income our State must soon become utterly impoverished, and of consequence wholly degraded. Depopulation, to the utmost possible extent, must take place rapidly. Our slaves will go first, and that institution from which we have heretofore reaped the greatest benefits, will be swept away; for history, as well as common sense, assures us, beyond all chance of doubt, that whenever slavery ceases to be profitable it must cease to exist.

These are not mere paper calculations, or the gloomy speculations of a brooding fancy. They are illustrated and sustained by facts, current facts of our own day, within the knowledge of every one of us. The process of impoverishment has been visibly and palpably going on, step by step, with the decline in the price of cotton. It is well known, that, for the last twenty years, floating capital to the amount of five hundred thousand dollars per annum, on the average, has left this city and gone out of South Carolina, seeking and finding more profitable investments than were to be found here. But our most fatal loss, which exemplifies the decline of our agriculture and the decay of our slave system, has been owing to emigration. The natural increase of all the slaves in the South, since the prohibition of the African slave trade, has been thirty per cent. for every ten years. From 1810 to 1820, the increase in South Carolina was a fraction above that rate. From 1820 to 1830, it was a fraction below it. But from 1830 to 1840, the increase was less than seven per cent. in ten years; and the census revealed the painful and ominous fact, that the number of slaves in South Carolina was eighty-three thousand less than it should have been. No war, pestilence or famine, had visited our land. No change of climate, or of management, had checked the natural increase of this class of our population. There can be no reasonable doubt, that the ratio of its increase had been as fully maintained here as elsewhere. But the fact is, that, notwithstanding the comparatively high average price of cotton, from 1830 to 1840, these slaves had been carried off by their owners, at the rate of eight thousand three hundred per annum, from a soil producing to the hand twelve hundred pounds of cotton on the average, to one that yielded eighteen hundred pounds. And there is every reason to apprehend, that the census of next year will show that the whole increase of the last decade, which must amount to one hundred thousand, has been swept off by the still swelling tide of emigration.

Under these circumstances, the question may well be asked again, what are we to do in South Carolina? for it is but too obvious that something must be done, and done promptly, to arrest our downward career. To discuss this question fully, in all its bearings, and give a satisfactory answer, would consume more time than can be allowed on this occasion; but I trust its importance will be my excuse, if I tres-

pass by a somewhat elaborate examination of some of its essential features.

The first remedy for our decaying prosperity, which naturally suggests itself, is the improvement of our agricultural system; and of late years a great deal has been said upon this subject. That it is susceptible of great improvement, is very clear; but it is equally and lamentably true, that little or nothing has as yet been done. It must be owned, that neither our agricultural societies, nor our agricultural essays, have effected any thing worth speaking of. And it does seem, that while the fertile regions of the Southwest are open to the cotton planters, it is vain to expect them to embark, to any extent, in improvements which are expensive, difficult, or hazardous. Such improvements are never made, but by a prosperous people, full of enterprise, and abounding in capital, like the English—or a people pent up within narrow limits, like the Dutch. Our cotton region is too broad, and our southern people too homogeneous for metes and bounds, to enforce the necessity of improving any particular locality; and our agriculture is now too poorly compensated to attract superfluous capital, or stimulate to enterprise. It is clear that capital, enterprise, some new element of prosperity and hope, must be brought in among us, from some yet untried or unexhausted resource, before any fresh and uncommon energy can be excited into action, in our agricultural pursuits. In fact, if prices had not gone down and our lands had not worn out, it may be said with great truth, that we have too long devoted ourselves to one pursuit to follow it exclusively much longer with due success in all those particulars which constitute a highly prosperous and highly civilized community.

It is a common observation that no man of one idea, no matter how great his talent and his perseverance, ever can succeed. For both human affairs and the works of nature are complex, exhibiting everywhere an infinite variety of mutual relations and dependencies, many of which must be comprehended and embraced in searching after truth, which is the essential basis of all real success. So if, guided by the light of history, we look back over the long track of time, we shall find that no nation devoted exclusively to one pursuit, has been prosperous or powerful for any extended period. Even the warlike Spartans zealously promoted agriculture. And Rome began to decline from the moment that she ceased to draw her soldiers and her generals from her fields and vineyards. But a people wholly agricultural have ever been, above all others, in all ages, the victims of rapacious tyrants, grinding them down, in ancient times, by force of arms—in modern, by cunning laws. The well known fact suggests the obvious reason, and the reason illustrates our present condition and apparent prospects. The mere wants of man are few and limited. The labor of one can supply all that the earth can yield for the support of ten. If all labor, there is useless superabundance. If few labor there is corrupting sloth. And if advancing civilization introduces new wants, and the elegancies and luxuries, as well as the necessities of life, are to be obtained, the products of agriculture are the least profitable of all articles to barter. Besides that most nations strenuously endeavor to supply them from their own soil, they are usually so bulky and so liable to injury, that they can seldom be transported far, and never, but at great expense. It is only

when an agricultural people are blessed with some peculiar staple, of prime importance, nowhere else produced so cheaply, that they can obtain, habitually, a fair compensation by exporting it. But in the present state of the world, when science and industry, backed by accumulated capital, are testing the capacity of every clime and soil on the globe, and the free and cheap communication which is now growing up between all the ends of the earth, enables wealth and enterprise to concentrate rapidly on every favored spot, no such monopoly can be long enjoyed if sufficiently valuable to attract the cupidity of man. South Carolina and Georgia were, for some years, almost the only cultivators of cotton in America. As late as 1820, these two States grew more than half the whole crop of the Union. They now produce about one-fifth of it. Such is the history of every agricultural monopoly in modern times.

But we may safely go further and assert, that even when a people possess a permanent and exclusive monopoly of a valuable agricultural staple, for which there is a regular, extensive and profitable foreign demand, if they limit their industrial pursuits to this single one, they cannot become great and powerful. Nay, they cannot now attain the front rank of nations, if they also pursue, as we do, most of the other branches of agriculture, and maintain, as we do not, an independent government of their own, and exercise the power of making war and peace. The types of man have been infinitely varied by his wise Creator. Our minds are as diverse as our forms and features. The tastes, the talents, and the physical capacities with which we are endowed, are as widely different, and as strongly marked for their appropriate pursuits, as those pursuits have been diversified by Providence. War and public affairs call into action a large proportion of the highest qualities of man, and these, sustained by a simple husbandry, did, in ancient times, make some nations powerful and prosperous. But war is no longer profitable. National pillage is at an end, and territorial aggrandizement, a doubtful benefit at best, is both uncertain in its tenure and costly to maintain. Now, and henceforth, national grandeur to be real and lasting, must be based upon the arts of peace. And in these noble arts, the competition of nations has become so keen and persevering, that every one must develop, to the full extent, its natural advantages, and keep in constant play each and all of the natural endowments, of each and all its citizens, or it will fall rapidly behind in the arduous but steady march of progress. The soils and climates of Italy, Spain and the low countries, are as prolific, and the native genius of their people is doubtless equal to what it was in the days of Augustus, Charles the Fifth and Van Tromp. Yet they have sunk from the highest almost to the lowest point in the scale of nations. But their pursuits are no longer diversified as they once were. Their ships have been swept from the seas—their armies from the land. Their manufactures have been superceded, and commerce has deserted their ports; while they have introduced no new industrial avocations to supply their losses. All the endowments of the whole people being no longer taxed to full and wholesome action, they have languished in idleness, and national decay has, of necessity, followed. So with us. Our agriculture, though it might embrace a wide range in such a climate as ours,

and furnish us with highly compensating exports, cannot, even with the assistance of public affairs, absorb all the genius, and draw out all the energies, of our people. The infinite variety of gifts which it has pleased God to bestow on man, must be stimulated into useful action by an equal variety of adequate rewards. It is to the never-ceasing demands of advancing civilization, in all its stages, for new arts, new comforts, new luxuries, more knowledge and wider intercourse of men with one another, that we owe all the discoveries and inventions which have ameliorated and elevated the condition of humanity. And every new conception, every new art, every new combination of pursuits, industrial and intellectual, which has expanded the genius, and augmented the power of man and nations of men, has rendered it more and more impossible for an individual of one idea, or a people of one occupation, to attain prosperity and influence.

Since, then, even a flourishing agriculture could not of itself, make us permanently rich or great, the greatest improvements that could be made in our present decaying system, would be but a partial and insufficient remedy for the evils under which we labor. We must take a wider range, and introduce additional pursuits, that will enlist a broader interest, that will absorb all our redundant capital, and awaken all the intellect and energy now dormant in our State. On this occasion, however, we will confine our discussion to new industrial pursuits. If we look around us we shall see, that those nations only are powerful and wealthy, which, in addition to agriculture, devote themselves to commerce and manufactures; and that their wealth and strength are nearly in exact proportion with the extent to which they succeed, in carrying on together, these three great branches of human industry. The principle of the Trinity, perfected in the Deity, seems to pervade all the works of nature and the affairs of man. Time divides itself into three parts—three lines are necessary to inclose space—a proper government must be distributed among three fundamental departments, and the industrial system of a people must, if it would flourish, embrace agriculture, manufactures and commerce, and cherish each in just proportion. Commerce, experience shows us, is the hand-maid of manufactures. Agriculture does not create it, as our own example proves, for we have literally none, we may call our own. With eight millions of agricultural exports, South Carolina has scarcely a ship, or a sailor, afloat upon the seas. The Institute, whose anniversary we have met to celebrate, was founded, in part, for the purpose of assisting to lift the mechanic arts from the low condition they have hitherto occupied in South Carolina and the South, and to stimulate our people to avail themselves of the manufacturing and commercial resources they possess. These resources are little known and less appreciated, but it is demonstrable that our southern States possess natural advantages, which enable them to compete successfully with any other, in manufacturing the principle articles now required for the necessities, the comfort and the luxury of man. While, with our abundant materials for ship-building, our noble bays and rivers, and our shore line of twenty thousand miles of sea-coast, we have only to make the attempt, to obtain, beyond rivalry, the entire command, of at least our own commerce. In the distribution of these natural advantages, the share

which has fallen to South Carolina, is not inferior to that of any of her sister States. And the present stagnant and retrograding condition of our uncompensated industry, loudly appeals to us to make an effort to secure the full enjoyment of them.

But there are difficulties, serious difficulties to be overcome, ere this can be effected—and, strange to say, these difficulties are almost wholly of a moral character. There is no want of genius, or energy, or skill, or, as yet, even of capital, in South Carolina. We have all these, perhaps, in full proportion to our natural advantages. But ignorance and prejudice are to be encountered—petty interests, false reasoning, unsound calculation, and perhaps, above all, certain traditional habits of thought and action. The ancient and illustrious calling of agriculture, which, while it cherishes and promotes a generous hospitality, a high and perfect courtesy, a lofty spirit of independence, and uncalculating love of country, and all the nobler virtues and heroic traits of man, is apt to engender a haughty contempt of all mechanic arts, as uncreative in their nature and entirely devoted to petty details, which cramp the genius and character, and are wholly inconsistent with those grander aspirations which make the capacious intellect and exalted soul. The agriculturist, it is said, is the sole producer—the mechanic only shapes and changes—commerce simply transfers. These distinctions are only verbal—mere words without any philosophical or rational meaning. God alone creates. He provides the agriculturist with his mighty machine, the earth, and his all powerful agents, air, water, heat. Operating with these, the cultivator changes a seed into a plant, with leaves, blossom, bolls and cotton. The mechanic invents, almost creates his own machine, and by the aid of science, decomposing the very elements, he compels their energies, long, cunningly hid, to perform the tasks he sets them in perfect accordance with his will. The agriculturist has converted seed into cotton of little value as it passes from his hands. The mechanic converts it into cloth, fit for immediate and indispensable use; but first he has converted wood and iron into machinery, that can perform the labor of a thousand men; he has turned water into steam, to give it life, and has spun from the produce of a single seed, a thread more than a hundred and sixty miles in length. Which is the most wonderful work? Which requires the most comprehensive genius? Which is the nearest approach to the creative power? Whoever, by the application of capital, industry or skill, adds value to any article, is, to that extent, undoubtedly a producer. The merchant who transports the cloth from Charleston to California, and thereby enhances its value, is a producer, as well as the manufacturer who has made cloth from cotton, and the planter who has made cotton from seed.

It is true, as charged, that the mechanic arts deal extensively in minute details. In the construction of machinery, it is necessary that its smallest parts should be as perfectly adapted as its largest, to the end in view; and the nicest care is necessary in keeping it in operation. And so throughout the whole mechanic range. Thread by thread the cloth is woven. The smith's work is wrought blow by blow. The carpenter removes a shaving at a time. The ship grows as the spikes are driven. But the same attention to detail is requisite in every oth-

er avocation, in every line of business, in every branch of science, in every department, public and private, of human affairs, and the neglect of it is every where attended with the same utter failure of valuable results. Of all the causes which have combined to impair the agriculture of South Carolina, the most injurious, perhaps, is the habitual want of personal attention to details by the planters themselves, and the impossibility of procuring subordinate agents, who will bestow that thorough and systematic care on small matters, which is absolutely indispensable to successful husbandry.

It is certain that many of the most renowned men and nations of antiquity, looked upon manufactures, trade, commerce and all the mechanic arts with aversion and contempt. The citizens of Sparta were prohibited from engaging in them. Aristotle denounced them. Plato excluded them as far as possible, from his republic. The Greeks and the Romans left them to foreigners and slaves. Cicero was disgusted with the idea "that the same people should become, at once, the lords and factors of the universe." France, in latter times, forbade her noblemen to engage in trade, and even, in the last century, as great a philosopher as Montesquieu, thought, that England had impaired her greatness, by permitting her noblemen to do it. Thus this prejudice and fallacy is of ancient date and illustrious descent. Yet none could be more absurd, more false, more fatal to all who have adhered to it, individually or nationally, in modern times. Modern civilization took its rise in Italy, and the first clear dawn of it reveals to us Venice and Genoa, commercial and manufacturing cities, at the opposite outlets of the fertile plains of Lombardy, leading the van of progress. The first established era of refinement, is still known as the age of the Medicis—the merchant princes of Florence. The commercial and manufacturing league of the Hanse Towns next civilized the north of Europe, and from them it was, that England learned those arts of agriculture, manufactures and commerce, which have made her the most powerful nation that ever figured on the globe, and her people, truly and emphatically, and grandly, too, the "lords and factors of the universe."

Shall we, following the false lights of other ages, or the silly impulses of ignorant prejudice, disdain a career as great and glorious as that of England? Or shall we, individually, shrink from a strict and faithful attention to details, in all our pursuits, from the preposterous belief, that such a course is inconsistent with greatness of intellect and magnanimity of soul? Bacon said, with profound truth, that "he that cannot contract the sight of his mind, as well as disperse and dilate it, wanteth a great faculty." The truly great man contracts and expands his views with equal facility, and sweeps, with the same ease, the narrow defiles of detail and the broad fields of generalization. Caesar, it is said, could call by name every soldier in his army. Charlemagne, whose achievements made the epoch commonly recognized as separating modern from ancient history, took care to have the superfluous eggs and garden vegetables of his private estates sent to market. Alfred, the founder of the British monarchy, translated the fables of Æsop, and wrote others himself. Napoleon won his mighty battles by calculating steps and counting minutes. Those overwhelming armies with which he crushed, so often, the combined powers of continental Europe,

were concentrated on a given spot, at a given hour, by orders issued months before to many corps separated by hundreds of leagues, in which not only the precise route of each was pointed out, but their daily marches, their halts, their rendezvous, the obstacles they would encounter, and the movements by which they were to be overcome, were all accurately and minutely designated. Can we then say, that it is only narrow minds and dull spirits that stoop to investigate and carry out details? The idea is ridiculous.

It is also said, that where manufactures and commerce flourish, morals are corrupted and free institutions do not prosper. It is undoubtedly true, that when men congregate in cities and factories, the vices of our nature are more fully displayed, while the purest morals are fostered by rural life. But, on the other hand, the compensations of association are great. It develops genius, stimulates enterprise, and rewards every degree of merit. It is not true that these pursuits are hostile to political freedom. The truth is the reverse. Honest husbandmen, scattered far and wide over the surface of the country, are slow to suspect, and still slower to combine in opposing, schemes of usurpation. A steady loyalty and an earnest aversion to change are their invariable characteristics. Merchants and manufacturers, next to lawyers, have always been the first "to snuff tyranny in the tainted breeze," and foremost in resisting it. The commercial and manufacturing people of the North, in these States, would not bear, for a day, the aggressions on their rights, to which we of the South have been for years, habitually submitting. The first battles for popular liberty, in modern times, were fought in Holland and Flanders; and the indomitable, free spirit of the sturdy tradesman and artisans of Ghent and Bruges will ever be renowned in history.

But it is strenuously contended that the introduction of manufacturing in the South would undermine our free-trade principles, and destroy the last hope of the great agricultural interest. It is susceptible of demonstration, that the consequences would necessarily be precisely the reverse. The manufacturing people of the North desire a high tariff for no other purpose but to compel the non-manufacturing people of the South to buy from them, in preference to foreigners. If the South manufactures for itself, the game is completely blocked. We will, of course, use the productions of our own looms and work-shops, in preference to any others; and the North will then clamor, as the English manufacturers are now clamoring, for entire free trade, that they may exchange their industrial products, on the most favorable terms, with foreign nations. This result is as inevitable as it is obvious.

While it is the object of this Institute to promote all the mechanic arts, and every branch of manufactures, every one is aware, that the advantages we possess for manufacturing cotton are so superior, that far the greater portion of the capital and enterprise, that may be embarked in manufactures, will be absorbed in this branch, until it reaches its maximum production. By establishing this manufacture, we shall lay the foundation of many others—in fact, of all others which we can profitably carry on. All these manufactures, and the entire range of mechanic arts, pressingly demand, and are wholly entitled to, the utmost consideration and encouragement from the South; but, on

account of its transcendent importance, and because we are now nearly, if not quite, prepared to engage in it extensively, I shall confine my observations almost exclusively to the manufacture of cotton, and examine, so far as time allows, its prospects and bearings on State and individual interests. Already the South, through the almost unnoticed enterprise of a few of her citizens, more than supplies her own consumption of course cotton, and ships both yarn and cloths, with fair profit, to northern markets. Yet the political influence of the manufacturers of the South is nothing. It cannot send a single representative to Congress—perhaps not even to a State legislature. To augment that influence to a point that would make it felt, manufacturing must be so extended that a foreign market would be indispensable; for the home market, now nearly supplied, would soon be glutted, and the moment a producer goes into the foreign market, he hoists the banner of free trade. If our Southern manufacturers stop where they now are, content with supplying home consumption, they will desire a high tariff; but, if they aspire to competition with the world, they will contend for the lowest duties upon all importations. This is exemplified, not only by the present state of things in England, but by the fact that our northern manufacturers, now wrestling with the British in China and Brazil, are violently opposed to any duty on tea and coffee, for which they exchange, in those countries, their cotton cloths. The heavy expenses of the British government compel it to tax these articles. This gives our manufacturers a great advantage, and shows the value, even in our foreign intercourse, of a cheap government at home.

But the great question is, can we compete with other nations? Can we, of the South, manufacture cotton here on such terms as to enable us to triumph over the immense capital, the far-famed cheap labor and practiced skill of the great nations who are now so far in advance of us in this branch of industry. I do not speak of the northern States, because, in the very first effort, we have driven them from our markets, and have already commenced the contest with them for their own, in the only class of goods we have yet attempted. It is clear they cannot stand a moment in our way, when we have once fairly started for the prize.

There is a small amount of cotton manufactured into the finest stuffs, by the hand labor of the most wretched and ill-compensated operatives in the world. For this we will not contend, since the paupers of Europe have scarcely yet wrested it from the starving Hindoos. Skill, capital, cheapness of labor, of raw material, of buildings, machinery, motive power and transportation, combined with fitness of climate and security of property, constitute the elements of cheap and profitable manufacturing. All these we must consider in estimating our ability to compete with others in supplying cotton goods for the great markets of the world.

As regards skill, it is a mistake to suppose, that, in manufacturing cotton by machinery, any great degree of it is necessary in the operative. In a few months, an intelligent youth may learn all that is requisite in most departments; and, in a few years, he may perfect himself in the whole art. We need not go beyond the limits of our own State—scarcely of this city—to have experimental proof of this. But

skill belongs to capital. In six months, with sufficient funds, we may draw from any and every quarter of Europe and the North, on reasonable terms, the full amount and precise kind of skill we may desire, with as much certainty as we could bring, by order, a cask of wine, or a bale of woolens. And capital follows profits. In the present age, wherever on the globe it can be practically and satisfactorily demonstrated, that ample and secure returns are to be obtained from its investment, thither capital will soon flow, and skill be found to manage it. If it can be shown that more can be made by cotton factories in the South than elsewhere, and that property is secure with us, it would be vain to attempt to prevent the concentration here of capital for the purpose, unless the laws absolutely forbid the erection of them. We have all seen what an enormous amount of capital has been invested in cotton planting, within the last thirty years, in consequence of its being thought highly profitable. Not less than \$500,000,000 have been so invested, in that period, notwithstanding the most vigorous measures have been openly made during nearly the whole of it, from various and powerful quarters, not merely to make insecure the planter's profit, but to annihilate his property and desolate his country. But, heretofore, under equally formidable circumstances, the profits from manufacturing have been far greater than from planting cotton, and the personal superintendence of the capitalist far less laborious. In fact, this manufacture cannot fail, wherever it can be experimentally shown that it may be carried on with the greatest success, to attract capital, in preference to all others; for it has hitherto afforded, and still affords, the largest returns on its investments of any other permanent industrial pursuit the world has ever known. It is well known that a great proportion of the largest fortunes amassed in England, in the last seventy years of unparalleled accumulation, has been made by cotton manufactures. So numerous and influential has this successful class become, that they are familiarly distinguished there by a distinct and appropriate name: they are called "cotton lords." It is understood, that thirty-three and one-third per cent. is not a very uncommon profit on their capital. This is the reason, and a sufficient one, that the consumption of cotton in England augmented from 100,000,000 lbs. in 1816, at the commencement of peace, to 600,000,000 in 1846, being an increase of six-fold in thirty years. For the same reason, the consumption in the factories of the United States increased, during the same period, from some 32,000,000 lbs. to above 190,000,000 lbs., being about the same proportion. Since 1846, after the reduction of duties by the act of that year, the increase of factory consumption has been beyond all precedent. It was, last year, 45,000,000 lbs. greater than the year before; and for the first six months of this year, the ratio of increase was still larger. It declined during the last six months, in consequence of the temporary high price of cotton. These facts show, not only the immense profits derived from manufacturing cotton, but they prove that they have been as great in our northern States as in England, since the factory consumption has increased in both with an extraordinary coincidence of equal ratio. Unless, indeed, our northern capitalists are content with less profit than those of England, which will not readily be believed. What their precise gains have been, we have no certain

data for estimating. They have always been seeking to enhance them by government protection, and, according to their own statements, have been carrying on a ruinous business. Yet they have amassed sufficient wealth to ape, at great expense, the style of English grandees, and have won for themselves a title also—that of “lords of the loom and spinning jenny”—while manufacturing towns have been springing up at the North, and growing off, as if by magic, into cities. In the South a few factories have fairly got under way. They have had to struggle with the obstacles incident to every new business, and with prejudices, some of which I have glanced at. Experience has not demonstrated what profit can be regularly counted on, though it has been highly encouraging to all who have judiciously embarked in them. It is an important and well-ascertained fact, that, during the past year, the comparative increase of factory consumption has been greater in the southern States than in England, or elsewhere. And it is confidently believed, from the successful experiments which have been made, that, if all our natural advantages for manufacturing cotton were properly developed, under the social and political approbation of the State and of the South, the profits arising from it would be so great, throughout the cotton region, as to attract abundant capital and skill from almost every other quarter.

England is the great dread of all those who turn their attention toward manufacturing. Her capital, her enterprise, her pauper labor, her vast commerce and indomitable energy, have hitherto broken down, or held in check, the cotton manufacturers of the old world. If they have thriven in this country, and kept pace with her in the ratio of increase, it may be said, with great truth and force, that thus far we have done little more than supply our home market with the coarser fabrics, and that a high protective duty has been deemed necessary to enable us to do this; that the only two foreign markets, in which our manufacturers have attempted to contend seriously with her, pay for our goods in articles that enter the United States free of duty, which is equivalent to a direct bounty to our manufacturers, paid by our government; and that it yet remains to be shown, that we can compete with the English in the open and equal markets of the world. I do not believe that our northern manufacturers can ever do it, for reasons which time does not permit me to detail. But it is believed that southern factories may with complete success. Whether they can or not depends, of course—supposing capital and skill abundant—upon which can manufacture cheapest; for, transportation from our ports to foreign markets will be but little, if any thing, more expensive than from her own.

The means of making a comparison between the cost of manufacturing cotton in England and this country, especially in the South, are not abundant, but we have some special facts in point, and a vast body of general ones that may be brought to bear directly on the question. A practical manufacturer, Mr. Montgomery, of Glasgow, who is now in this country, and who had previously written several treatises on cotton spinning, published at Glasgow, in 1840, a work on the comparative advantages of cotton manufacturing in Great Britain and the United States. It is regarded, I believe, as good authority on both sides of the water. In that work he estimates the cost of a factory in the United States, contain-

ing 5,000 spindles and 128 looms, at about \$104,000, including the buildings, motive power and all other machinery. The expense of working it a fortnight, he puts down at \$1,954. He exhibits the cost of a similar factory in England, which amounted to but \$44,000, and the charges per fortnight were only \$1,123. Notwithstanding this striking difference in the cost and charges of the two factories, on summing up and including the value of the goods produced, and the price of the raw material, Mr. Montgomery demonstrates that the final cost of manufacturing cotton is three per cent. in favor of this country. This important conclusion is owing to two items. First, the 128 looms here, turned out 16,000 yards of cloth every fortnight, more than the same number did in Great Britain; and, secondly, the charges on the raw material, from the southern seaport to the northern factory, were only eleven per cent., against twenty-seven and a half per cent., the charges to the British manufacturer. Supposing a southern factory to have been erected at the same cost as a northern, and worked at the same charges, the difference in our favor, inasmuch as the eleven per cent. expenses would be saved to us, would amount to nine per cent. over the British—an advantage, against which competition could not long be maintained in any equal market. Since Mr. Montgomery wrote, the English have abolished the duty on cotton, which he estimated at four and a half per cent. This placed them nearly on a footing with the North, but still left six per cent. in favor of the South. Since then, they have increased their speed in England, but it has been by an increased outlay for power. If they have reduced the cost of manufacturing, it has been by improvement in machinery, of which it is in our power to avail ourselves almost immediately. But in this country, where the prices of numerous items used in a cotton factory have not yet, by any means, reached the minimum, the cost and charges of such an establishment as Mr. Montgomery describes, have fallen largely since 1840. According to Leonard's *Principia*, published last year, a factory running 5,000 spindles and 140 looms, may be put up at the North now, twenty-five per cent. cheaper than Mr. Montgomery's estimate; can be worked at charges twelve and a half per cent. less, and will turn out ten per cent. more cloth. In addition to this, the average price of cotton has, for some years, been about half the price at which Mr. Montgomery's estimate was made, while charges have fallen very little, if any, and cannot now amount to less than an average, of thirty-three and a half per cent., to the British manufacturer, notwithstanding the abolition of the duty. These facts seem to prove, that competition with England, in this line of manufactures, is not likely to turn out near so disastrous, as we have been taught to believe by northern alarmists, deeply interested to spread such opinions in this country. They give us also some idea of the causes which have lead to so rapid an increase latterly, in the consumption of raw cotton in America. The conclusion might be drawn that even the North may, in the long run, triumph over Great Britain. But our northern brethren have one, to mention only one, fatal and ominous disqualification for carrying such a contest to extremes. With them, owing to their social and political condition, the tendency of wages is constantly to rise. If they are lowered much, or lowered long, the security of property is

at an end. They can substitute no labor for that which is virtually entitled to suffrage, and their governments, controlled by those who live by wages, have no power to protect capital against the demands of labor, however unjust. In the South it is wholly different, and so soon as experience shall enable us to handle our own resources skillfully, it will be found, besides, that we have as great advantages over the North and over England, in cheapness of motive power of all kinds, and in facilities for constructing buildings and machinery, as we have in the raw material to be manufactured.

The great item of cost in manufacturing, next to the raw material, is that of labor. And the final result of the great struggle, for the control and enjoyment of the most important industrial pursuit of the world, will probably depend on its comparative cheapness. We are forever told of the "pauper labor" of Europe, and for the reason I have just given, the North is, perhaps, excusable for never having been able to look with composure at this bug-bear. The cheapness of labor is undoubtedly much influenced by density of population, though labor is dearer in Massachusetts, with a population of one hundred, than it is in South Carolina with a population of twenty-two, to the square mile. Ultimately, however, the value of labor must depend on climate and soil. Wherever men can work the most, and under a just and secure government, live at least expense, there, in the long run, labor must be the cheapest. In England, factory labor is now limited by law to sixty hours a week. In our northern States, the average of available weekly labor is estimated at seventy-three and a half hours—in the middle States at seventy-five and a half hours, and, the further south we come, the more it is susceptible of increase. Cold, ice and snow, rarely present impediments to working in the cotton region, and the steady heat of our summers is not so prostrating as the short, but frequent and sudden, bursts of northern summers. If driven to that necessity, there is no doubt we can extend our hours of labor beyond any of our rivals. The necessary expenses of the southern laborer, are not near so great as are those of one, in Northern latitudes. He does not require as much, nor as costly clothing, nor as expensive lodgings, nor the same quantity of fuel, nor even an equal amount of food. All the fermented and distilled liquors which, in cold climates, are in some sort necessities, are here uncalled for and injurious indulgences. Corn bread and bacon, as much as the epicure may sneer at them, with fresh meat only occasionally, and a moderate use of garden vegetables, will, in this region at least, give to the laborer greater strength of muscle and constitution, enable him to undergo more fatigue, and insure him longer life and more enjoyment of it, than any other diet. And these, indeed, with coffee, constitute the habitual food of the great body of the southern people. Thirteen bushels of corn, worth now, even in the Atlantic southern States only about \$6 on the average, and one hundred and sixty pounds of bacon, or its equivalent, worth about \$9, is an ample yearly allowance for a grown person. Garden vegetables bear no price except in cities. If sugar and coffee be added, \$18 or at most \$19, will cover the whole necessary annual cost of a full supply of wholesome and palatable food, purchased in the market. Such provisions, and in fact all sound provisions, are dearer in Europe and the

North, than they are with us. Much dearer than they could be well afforded here, if a steady and sufficient market gave encouragement to their production. It may, indeed, be safely estimated, that each arable acre in the southern States can, with proper culture, maintain a human being, and that we might support within our limits at least 200,000,000, in a far better condition than the operatives and peasantry of Europe now are. Such are our vast prospects for the future. The precise cost of maintaining a laboring man at the North, I have not seen stated. But there are abundant statements in England, not differing materially, for they have scientifically reduced the sustenance of their so much dreaded "pauper labor" to the exact point that will enable it to perform the allotted task. The Edinburgh Review, of 1842, stated that a gallon of flour, per week, just half our allowance of corn, was indispensable, and the average price of that was estimated at eighteen pence. At this rate the British workman pays for bread alone about \$18.50 a year, or full as much as will furnish here an ample supply of bread, meat, sugar and coffee. The prices of provisions cannot materially fall in England, for she is largely dependent on foreign supplies, and becoming daily more so, while here, even in South Carolina, with a certain market for corn at twenty-five cents a bushel at the barn, it would be cultivated, in preference to cotton, at six cents in our ports. All these facts show, that while wages have fallen already in Europe to the lowest possible point, we have a large margin left for their reduction here, should circumstances demand it, and that we have no reason to dread her "pauper labor" in the future. We have only to lift our mechanic arts from their present neglected condition, and learn to avail ourselves of the resources which providence has lavished on us, to sweep over every obstacle, which such labor may now present, to our immediate enjoyment of the entire monopoly of our own great staple. In fact, the average rate of factory wages in the South is already lower than at the North, and but little higher than it is in England. As soon as operatives can be trained here to take the places of those necessarily brought from a distance, at extra cost, to fill the higher departments of manufacturing establishments, the average of wages, and of all charges for working, will, of course, fall considerably. And let it not be forgotten that, as I have already stated, notwithstanding our almost entire want of experience, and all the disadvantages which our few and widely-scattered factories—newly erected among a people wholly unused to such pursuits—having no faith in them—in fact strongly prejudiced against them—must, of course, labor under, they already produce better yarn and cloths, of the qualities attempted, than the northern manufacturers, and are successfully competing with them at their own doors. Mr. Leonard, in the recent work to which I have referred, states the cost of yard-wide No. 14 sheeting at 5.26 cents per yard, at northern factories, with cotton at six cents per pound there. The Graniteville factory, in this State, had not been in operation nine months, before it turned out precisely the same cloth, at 4.84 cents per yard, with cotton at *seven cents a pound here*. And these very goods, made at this establishment, at this rate, have recently taken the *first premium* at the exhibition in Philadelphia. Thus, in addition to sound theoretical reasoning, we have strong practical proofs to lead us to the conviction, that

the cotton region is entirely competent to convert the whole cotton crop into goods of all descriptions, at a cost so low as to distance all competition. And the South has only to address herself earnestly to the great work to accomplish it, in a space of time that no one, not intimately acquainted with our people, would deem credible, if suggested now. Great Britain spins two-thirds of the amount of our cotton crop. It is estimated that she employs \$200,000,000 in the gigantic operation. On this data we may safely calculate that \$400,000,000 invested here would enable us to consume all the raw material we produce. These figures seem enormous, but they should not startle us. Within the last twenty years the South, while she has fallen off in no other branches of industry, has invested \$400,000,000 in cotton planting; \$50,000,000 in sugar planting, and not less than \$50,000,000 in factories and railroads. Why then should it be questioned that she could, in twenty years more, herself, furnish the capital to manufacture all her cotton.

The immense benefits the South would derive from such a result, are not generally appreciated. Few have the remotest idea of them. Indeed they would be so vast as to defy all previous calculation. "Little more than half a century has elapsed," said Mr. McCulloch, in 1833, "since the British cotton manufactory was in its infancy, and it now forms the principal business which is carried on in the country, affording an advantageous field for the accumulation and employment of millions and millions of capital, and of thousands upon thousands of workmen. The skill and genius by which these astonishing results have been achieved, have been one of the main sources of our power; they have contributed, in no common degree, to raise the British nation to the high and conspicuous place she now occupies. Nor is it too much to say, that it was the wealth and energy derived from the cotton manufacture, that bore us triumphantly through the late dreadful contest, at the same time that it gives us strength to sustain burdens that would have crushed our fathers, and could not be supported by any other people." If the manufacture of a portion of the raw material produced by our labor and our soil—and in 1833 she manufactured but a fourth of what we now produce—was of such incalculable advantage to England, what imagination can assign a limit to the power and prosperity we should enjoy, to the height of grandeur we might attain, if we manfully put our sickles into the field, and reap for ourselves, by our own industry and enterprise, the whole harvest, which the cotton plant, the inestimable gift from Heaven to us, is capable of yielding?

But to bring the subject more nearly home to ourselves, and our immediate interests, let us briefly consider what advantage South Carolina would derive from manufacturing the cotton she produces, and how far she is capable of doing it. The value of the cotton manufactures of Great Britain in 1846, an average year, was, according to the best authority, in round numbers, \$205,000,000. The quantity of raw material consumed was about 600,000,000 pounds, and the average price paid by the manufacturer is stated at ten cents per pound, which is equivalent, say to seven cents in this city. Now the average annual production of South Carolina is about 100,000,000 pounds, and if, to make our calculations clear, we assume that the whole of it was, as it

might have been, manufactured in Great Britain, in 1846, the value of the fabrics made of our crop was, to the manufacturer there, one-sixth of the whole, or \$34,000,000. But we, in South Carolina, obtained only \$7,000,000 for it; intermediate agents got about \$3,000,000, and the British manufacturer realized, for his share, \$24,000,000. These are not speculations or conjectures. They are recorded facts, which may be verified by reference to unquestionable documents. If we had manufactured our own crop in South Carolina, we should have received, as the reward of our industry, in addition to the \$7,000,000 which we did realize, all of the \$24,000,000 which fell exclusively to the British manufacturer. If, looking to the future, we estimate the price of cotton in this city at six cents per pound, or \$6,000,000 for our whole crop, and reduce the value of it, when converted into goods, to \$20,000,000, clear of charges beyond this port, we shall still, by manufacturing it here, increase our net income by the immense sum of \$14,000,000 per annum. How would the failing industry of South Carolina recuperate under an increased annual expenditure of \$14,000,000 within her limits? How would her cities grow, and new ones spring into existence? How would her marshes be drained, and her river swamps be dyked in, until pestilence was driven from her land, and virgin fields of exhaustless fertility, conquered for her agriculture? What railroads would be built along her thoroughfares, and what steamships would be launched upon her waters? How many colleges, and schools, and charities, would be founded and endowed? How would her strength be consolidated at home, and her influence abroad augmented and extended? I am not conjuring up ideal visions to excite the imagination. All these things have been actually done. They have been, in our own times, and under our own eyes, carried out and made legible, living, self-multiplying and giant-growing FACTS in Old England and New England; and they have been mainly accomplished by the incalculable profits which their genius and enterprise have realized on the products of OUR LABOR. But the question will naturally be asked, can South Carolina manufacture 100,000,000 pounds of cotton? Has she, without drawing from abroad, which is not desirable if it can be obviated—has she capital, the motive powers of machinery, and the operatives, that will enable her to do it to advantage? The answer is, yes! and the truth of it may be demonstrated in a few words. To manufacture this amount of cotton, \$40,000,000 of capital would be an ample and liberal investment, that would cover all contingencies, if made judiciously. Now, for the want of profitable investment, a much larger amount of South Carolina capital has, within the last twenty years, actually left our State, and been lost to us forever. And that, without diminishing our agricultural productions, or foreign exports, which have increased considerably in quantity, if not in value, since 1830. I have already shown, that from 1830 to 1840, upwards of 80,000 slaves were carried from our State, and it may be assumed as certain, that full as many have gone within these last ten years. These 160,000 slaves, at \$400 each, were alone worth \$64,000,000. But for each one of these slaves, at the very least, \$100 worth of land and other property must have been sold here, and the cash proceeds transferred with them beyond our borders. This would amount to

\$16,000,000 more. And if to this be added the \$10,000,000 which, made here by mercantile and other pursuits, has been sent elsewhere for investment, as has undoubtedly been done, we have, without computing interest, the immense sum of \$90,000,000, of which, within these last twenty years, South Carolina has been drained, in currents which still flow, and bid fair to flow deeper and broader every year. No one is to be blamed for the transfer of this vast amount of capital. No one is under obligation to make or keep unprofitable investments. It is not to be expected. It never will be done to any great extent by enlightened and enterprising men. But if we had embarked in manufactures twenty years ago, as successfully as others, and afforded to capital here returns of thirty, or twenty, or even ten per cent., not a dollar of that \$90,000,000 would have left the State. The slaves might have gone, and the lands they cultivated might have been sold—but the enterprising owners would have remained here, and the full cash equivalent of this property would have remained with them. In their hands, it would not only have sufficed to erect all the factories requisite to spin our entire crop, but the vast overplus of \$50,000,000, would have constructed and paid for thousands of miles of railroad, and built fleets of steamships and merchant vessels, sufficient to carry our augmented commerce in direct lines to all the great marts of the world. If we begin now, and, instead of removing, sell, for a time, the superfluous increase of our slaves, the proceeds, added to the floating capital otherwise accumulated, will enable us to accomplish all these objects in a much shorter period than twenty years, and bring in upon our State a flood-tide of prosperity, that will cover every hill and valley—every bog and barren—with deposits more valuable than those of California.

But if ample capital were supplied, have we in South Carolina sufficient water power, advantageously located, or can we, on reasonable terms, generate steam power to manufacture our whole crop? The immense pine forests which line our railroads and navigable streams, will, if judiciously managed, furnish fuel for all the factories we shall want, at \$1 25 a cord, for generations yet to come. At this rate, fuel can be supplied as cheaply as the best Cumberland coal, at \$3 a ton, or 12 cents a bushel, which is cheaper than the same quality of coal is furnished to the English factories. The cost of steam engines, enhanced now only by the charges of transportation, will be proportionably reduced as the mechanic arts advance, under the fostering spirit of manufactures and commerce. As to water power, without looking further, the sand hill streams, which course through the pine barrens of our middle country—the healthiest region, take the year round, on the surface of the globe—are, it is well ascertained, capable of putting in motion millions of spindles and their complimentary machinery—spindles enough to consume several times the amount of our crop. These streams fall from eight to fifty feet in the mile, are subject to no back water, or unmanageable freshets, and, being fed by perennial springs, are rarely affected seriously by drought. Innumerable mill sites, with large tracts of land, may now be purchased on them, at from fifty cents to a few dollars an acre. The building of factories on them would instantly enhance the value of other parts of a tract which might be sold, beyond the whole cost of the original purchase and expenditure for dams,

so that ample water power may be obtained here for absolutely nothing. Four rivers navigable for steamboats, and several others navigable for large craft, flow through this region to the sea, while three railroads already traverse it, and a fourth is partly under contract. The cheapest transportation may therefore be commanded, and every necessary of life is proportionably cheap. Above the falls, the rivers themselves, and their numberless tributaries, afford an almost inexhaustible supply of water power, while provisions, at low rates, are abundant.

With capital, motive-powers, cheap provisions, and convenient transportation at our command, it would only remain to obtain operatives, on fair terms, to render our capacity to manufacture our cotton crop, complete. For this purpose, about thirty-five thousand, of all ages, would be requisite. There is no question but that our slaves might, under competent overseers, become efficient and profitable operatives in our factories. It may be of much consequence to us, that this fact has been fully tested, and is well known and acknowledged, as it would give us, under all circumstances, a reliable source. But to take, as we should have to do, even three-fourths of the required number from our cotton fields, would reduce our crop at least one-third—a reduction that would seriously affect the great results we have in view. It would also enhance the prices of labor and provisions; not so much by the legitimate and profitable process of increasing the demand, as by diminishing the supply; and it would curtail the relative power of the agricultural class. If purchased by the factories—the only feasible plan of using them—their cost would add fifty per cent. to the capital required for manufacturing. While, in their appropriate sphere, the cultivation of our great staples, under a hot sun and arid miasma, that prostrates the white man, our negro slaves admit of no substitute, and may defy all competition, it is seriously doubted, whether their extensive and permanent employment in manufactures and mechanic arts, is consistent with safe and sound policy. Whenever a slave is made a mechanic, he is more than half freed, and soon becomes, as we too well know, and all history attests, with rare exceptions, the most corrupt and turbulent of his class. Wherever slavery has decayed, the first step in the progress of emancipation, has been the elevation of the slaves to the rank of artisans and soldiers. This is the process through which slavery has receded, as the mechanic arts have advanced; and we have no reason to doubt, that the same causes will produce the same effects here. We have, however, abundant labor of another kind, which, unable at low prices of agricultural produce to compete with slave labor, in that line, languishes for employment; and, as a necessary consequence, is working evil to both our social and political systems. This labor, if not quite so cheap directly, will be found, in the long run, much the cheapest; since those who are capable of it, will, whether idle or employed, inevitably, in one way or another, draw their support from the community. According to the best calculation, which, in the absence of statistic facts, can be made, it is believed, that of the three hundred thousand white inhabitants of South Carolina, there are not less than fifty thousand, whose industry, such as it is, and compensated as it is, is not, in the present condition of things, and does not promise to be hereafter, adequate to procure them, honestly, such a support as every

white person in this country is, and feels himself entitled to. And this, next to emigration, is, perhaps, the heaviest of the weights that press upon the springs of our prosperity. Most of these now follow agricultural pursuits, in feeble, yet injurious competition with slave labor. Some, perhaps, not more from inclination, than from the want of due encouragement, can scarcely be said to work at all. They obtain a precarious subsistence, by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, sometimes by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is, in its effects, far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit. If the ancient philosopher had the slightest grounds for saying that it would require the plains of Babylon to support, in idleness, five thousand soldiers and their families, we may infer how enormous a tax it is on our resources, to maintain to the extent we do now, and are likely to have to do, directly and indirectly, our unemployed, or insufficiently employed poor.

From this class of our citizens, thirty-five thousand factory operatives may certainly be drawn, as rapidly as they may be called for, since boys and girls are required, in large proportion, for this business. Nor will there be any difficulty in obtaining them. Experience has shown that, contrary to general expectation, there exists no serious prejudice against such labor among our native citizens, and that they have been prompt to avail themselves, at moderate wages, of the opportunity it affords of making an honest and comfortable support, and decent provision for the future. The example thus set of continuous and systematic industry, among those to whom it has heretofore been unknown, cannot fail to produce the most beneficial effects, not only on their own class, but upon all the working classes of the State. And, putting aside the immense contribution of manufactures to the general prosperity, it would be one of the greatest benefits that could possibly be conferred on the agriculture of South Carolina, to convert thirty-five thousand of her unemployed or insufficiently compensated population into active and intelligent workmen, buying and paying for the products of her soil, which their families consume.

But it has been suggested, that white factory operatives in the South would constitute a body hostile to our domestic institutions. If any such sentiments could take root among the poorer classes of our native citizens, more danger may be apprehended from them, in the present state of things, with the facilities they now possess and the difficulties they have now to encounter, than if they were brought together in factories, with constant employment and adequate remuneration. It is well known, that the abolitionists of America and Europe are now making the most strenuous efforts to enlist them in their crusade, by encouraging the exclusive use of what is called "free labor cotton," and by inflammatory appeals to their pride and their supposed interests. But all apprehensions from this source are entirely imaginary. The poorest and humblest freeman of the South feels as sensibly, perhaps more sensibly than the wealthiest planter, the barrier which nature, as well as law, has erected between the white and black races, and would scorn as much to submit to the universal degradation which must follow, whenever it is broken down. Besides this, the factory operative could not fail to see here, what one would suppose he must

see, however distant from us, that the whole fabric of his own fortunes was based on our slave system, since it is only by slave labor that cotton ever has been, or ever can be, cheaply or extensively produced. Thus, not only from natural sentiment and training, but from convictions of self-interest, greatly strengthened by their new occupation, this class of our citizens might be relied on to sustain, as firmly and faithfully as any other, the social institutions of the South. The fact cannot be denied, that property is more secure in our slave States than it is, at present, in any other part of the world; and the constant and profitable employment of all classes among us will increase, rather than diminish that security.

There seems, then, to be no impediment whatever to our embarking, at once, in the manufacture of our cotton, and to the full extent of consuming our entire crop, in competition with the world. We have at hand, and within our grasp, all the elements necessary for erecting and carrying on manufacturing establishments; and we have the raw material on the spot, and at a cost one-third below what our European, and one-eighth below what our northern, rivals are compelled to pay for it; and we have it, also, in far better condition. When it reaches our factories, it will not have been compressed—often not put in bales; it will not have been drenched in rains and rolled in the mud of wharves, nor bleached and rotted by exposure, in its long travels by land and sea. It must, therefore, necessarily, make smoother, stronger and more durable fabrics, of all descriptions, here, than can be made of it elsewhere. And this is fully exemplified by the fact, that both the factory in this city and that at Graniteville have, in the very first year of their operations, carried off the highest prizes at northern exhibitions.

The greatness of a nation mainly depends on the greatness of its natural advantages, and the use it makes of them. The highest gifts of Heaven avail nothing—in fact, if profuse, they become curses—unless judiciously, skillfully and energetically appropriated. The wealth of England, which equals all that is fabled of the East, and the extent and power of her empire, are all due, in the first instance, chiefly to a wise and vigorous development of her natural resources. Surrounded by the ocean, commerce was evidently a vocation for her. Possessed of mines, in which coal and iron are interstratified, she was invited to manufactures. So soon as she had consolidated union and peace within her borders, she bent herself earnestly to these great pursuits, and devoted to them her genius, industry and enterprise, until, at length, she has circled the globe in her giant arms—shakes every bearing tree on its surface, and draws into her lap the most precious fruits of all its climes. When the steam engine and power loom, the saw gin and slave labor, combined to develop the greatest of all industrial pursuits, she was prepared to take the lead in it at once, and distance every competitor, to the present day; and McCulloch has exaggerated nothing, in estimating the value of this pursuit to her. Great as England was, sixty years ago, when she received the first bale of cotton from our shores, and much as she had done, her power and achievements before bear no comparison with what she has accomplished since, and is able to accomplish now. To speak only of her industrial operations: while all her manufactures have increased, even woolens, linens and silks, in

spite of the substitution of cottons—and her annual production of iron has risen from one hundred thousand to a million of tons—her consumption of raw cotton has grown from some 15,000,000 lbs. to over 600,000,000 lbs. per annum, and the yarn and fabrics she makes of it exceed in value now all her other manufactures together. It is this unparalleled manufacture, thus seized and appropriated, that has finally made her commerce equal to that of all other nations, and London the sole center of the exchanges of the world; while it has so stimulated her agriculture, that she would now be largely exporting provisions, if it had not also, notwithstanding her extraordinary wars in every quarter of the globe, and the millions she has lost by emigration, doubled her population in the last fifty years—an event which has never happened within a century before.

Yet this manufacture, whose astonishing results of every kind seem more like enchantment than reality—and in tracing whose actual history, we feel as if we were perusing some story of magic, in which fairies and genii make kings of peasants, and build gorgeous cities of marble and palaces of gold—this wonderful manufacture belongs of right to us. God, in his bounty, has manifestly designed it, and all its attendant benefits, for the people of the cotton-growing region. And he has given us, also, every physical advantage necessary to its full development. We have as much sea shore as England. We command the Gulf, appropriately called the great "Heart of the Ocean," and through which, brushing our shores, in a few years more, almost the whole commerce of the globe will pass. We have coal and iron. We have, besides, immense forests and noble streams without number. We have capital and labor, and the raw material is peculiarly ours. It only remains for us to prove to the world, that we have the courage to claim our own, and the genius and energy to maintain the rights and secure the blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon us.

I trust it will not be supposed, that, while thus advocating the encouragement of the mechanic arts, and extensive manufacturing among us, I look upon them in any other light, than as means, not ends; or, that I regard them even as the highest means. A profound philosopher of antiquity has said, that "occupations of utility and necessity ultimately terminate in the pursuit of the beautiful and true." Of this there cannot be a doubt; nor that these occupations exercise a most important influence on the education, character and destiny, of every individual and every community of men. Whoever is incapable of faithful and persevering industry, is not capable of any thing great. But the proper cultivation of the mind and morals must, in the main, be directed by a higher conception of the useful and the necessary, than would confine them to the mere exercise of any manual or mechanic art. And in training up a truly great people, no effort must be spared to enlarge all the faculties of the intellect, and to purify and elevate every sentiment of the heart. These are the springs and guides which finally sustain and direct all political, social and industrial institutions, and raise a nation to true prosperity and grandeur. But I see no incompatibility between the pursuits I have endeavored to recommend, and the exercise of the highest powers of the human mind, and the cultivation of the noblest sentiments that dignify our nature.

Nor would I be thought, by any means, desirous to see the mechanical and manufacturing spirit and influence prevail over the agricultural, in this State, or in the South. Of all the industrial pursuits of man, there is none so free from vicious contamination, in all its relations and tendencies, as agriculture; none which, if properly conducted, requires closer observation of natural facts, more rigid analysis of causes and effects, or the exercise of higher powers of generalization; none better calculated to impress on man the duties of this life, and lift him to the habitual contemplation of another. Politically, it is nearly impossible that agriculturists can combine and act in concert, but on the basis of truth, of virtue, and of right. If they are slow to reform, they are conservative of all that is pure in every institution. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance in all governments—especially in one so democratic as our own—and in all social systems—especially where, as in ours, so much equality prevails—that the prepondering influence should be agricultural. And with its immense and necessarily permanent superiority in wealth and numbers, there should be no serious apprehension that any other interest can ever override it here. If that should happen, it would prove that the agriculturists were not true to themselves; that they no longer cherished those frugal and industrious habits, and that manly spirit, which are their appropriate characteristics; and that they neglected to cultivate those high and virtuous sentiments, and to imbibe for themselves, and instill into their children, that knowledge and love of knowledge, which constitute, after all, the only genuine sources of real and enduring power.

ART. II.—POPULATION.—Part 2.

ANALYSIS OF THE CENSUS OF 1810 AND 1820 OF THE U. STATES.

WE come now to the third period. The census of 1810 adopted the same formula as that of 1800. Since the previous enumeration, 80,000 foreigners have become citizens by the annexation of Louisiana.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, 1810.

FREE WHITE MALES.

STATES.	<i>Under ten years of age.</i>	<i>Of ten years and under sixteen.</i>	<i>Of sixteen & under twenty-six, including heads of families.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six & under forty-five, including heads of families.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families.</i>
Maine,	41,273	18,463	20,403	22,079	13,291
New Hampshire,.....	34,084	17,840	18,865	20,531	14,462
Massachusetts,	68,930	34,964	45,018	45,854	34,976
Rhode Island,.....	10,735	5,554	7,250	6,765	5,529
Connecticut,.....	37,812	20,498	23,880	23,699	20,484
Vermont,	38,062	18,347	19,678	20,441	13,053
New York,	165,933	73,702	85,779	91,882	53,985
New Jersey,.....	37,814	18,914	21,231	21,394	16,094
Pennsylvania,.....	138,464	62,506	74,203	74,193	52,100

Delaware,	9,632	4,480	5,150	5,866	2,878
Maryland,	38,613	18,489	22,688	25,255	15,165
District of Columbia,	2,479	1,158	1,520	2,107	866
Virginia,	97,777	42,919	51,473	52,567	35,302
North Carolina,	68,036	30,321	34,650	34,456	21,189
South Carolina,	39,669	17,193	20,932	20,488	11,304
Georgia,	28,002	11,951	14,085	14,372	7,435
Kentucky,	65,134	26,804	29,772	29,553	17,542
Tennessee,	44,494	17,170	19,486	19,957	10,656
Ohio,	46,623	18,119	20,189	22,761	11,965
Indiana,	4,923	1,922	2,284	2,316	1,125
Mississippi,	4,217	1,637	2,692	3,100	1,144
Illinois,	2,266	945	1,274	1,339	556
Louisiana,	5,848	2,491	2,963	5,130	2,603
Missouri,	3,438	1,345	1,568	2,069	967
Alabama, .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan,	800	351	583	763	340
Arkansas, .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total,	1,035,058	408,083	547,597	671,997	364,836

FREE WHITE FEMALES.

Maine,	39,131	17,827	21,290	21,464	12,515
New Hampshire,	32,313	17,259	20,792	22,040	15,204
Massachusetts,	66,881	33,191	46,306	49,229	39,894
Rhode Island,	10,555	5,389	7,520	7,935	6,372
Connecticut,	35,913	18,931	25,073	26,293	22,696
Vermont,	36,613	17,339	21,181	20,792	11,457
New York,	157,945	68,811	85,139	85,805	46,718
New Jersey,	36,065	17,787	21,184	21,359	15,109
Pennsylvania,	131,769	60,943	75,960	76,826	45,846
Delaware,	9,041	4,370	5,541	5,527	2,876
Maryland,	36,137	17,833	23,875	22,908	14,154
District of Columbia,	2,538	1,192	1,653	1,734	832
Virginia,	90,715	42,207	54,899	51,163	32,512
North Carolina,	65,421	30,053	37,933	33,944	20,427
South Carolina,	37,497	16,629	20,583	18,974	10,926
Georgia,	26,283	11,237	13,461	12,850	6,238
Kentucky,	60,776	25,743	29,511	25,920	13,482
Tennessee,	41,810	16,329	19,864	17,624	8,485
Ohio,	44,192	16,869	19,990	19,436	8,717
Indiana,	4,555	1,863	2,228	1,880	794
Mississippi,	4,015	1,544	2,187	1,753	675
Illinois,	2,019	791	1,053	804	364
Louisiana,	5,384	2,588	2,874	3,026	1,499
Missouri,	3,213	1,265	1,431	1,369	662
Alabama, .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan,	640	332	363	311	130
Arkansas, .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total,	981,421	448,222	561,956	544,256	338,478

All other free persons, except Indians not taxed.

		Slaves.	Total number.
Maine,	969	.....	228,705
New Hampshire,	970	.....	214,360
Massachusetts,	6,737	.....	472,040
Rhode Island,	3,609	108	77,031
Connecticut,	6,453	319	262,042
Vermont,	750	.....	217,713
New York,	25,333	15,017	959,049
New Jersey,	7,843	10,851	245,655
Pennsylvania,	22,492	795	810,091
Delaware,	13,136	4,177	72,674
Maryland,	33,927	111,502	380,546
District of Columbia,	2,549	5,395	24,023
Virginia,	30,570	392,518	974,622
North Carolina,	10,266	168,824	555,500
South Carolina,	4,554	196,365	415,115
Georgia,	1,801	105,218	252,433
Kentucky,	1,713	80,561	406,511
Tennessee,	1,317	44,535	261,727
Ohio,	1,899	.....	230,760
Indiana,	393	257	24,520
Mississippi,	240	17,083	40,352
Illinois,	613	108	12,282
Louisiana,	7,585	34,660	76,556
Missouri,	607	3,011	20,845
Alabama, .....	.....	.....	.....
Michigan,	120	24	4,762
Arkansas, .....	.....	.....	.....
Total,	186,446	1,191,364	7,239,814

As before, we mark the increase, which is, for the whole population, 36.45 per cent.; for the whites, 36.18; colored, free, 7.2; slaves, 33.40; whole colored, 37.58. The whole free have gained again upon the slave population. The whole colored, in like manner, have gained upon the whites. The male population to female population, is as 100 to 96, though, as before, the number of females between sixteen and twenty-six is the largest. We shall refer to all these points hereafter.

New York, since the census of 1800, has swept ahead of Pennsylvania and become a match for Virginia. South Carolina is now the sixth in rank. Mississippi, Ohio and Indiana, have increased, respectively, four, five and six fold; Kentucky and Tennessee about four fold. Illinois, Louisiana, Missouri and Michigan, taken together, have about half the population of New Hampshire.

In 1820, a more particular enumeration of slaves and colored persons was made, as to both ages and sex. A new column, for white males between sixteen and eighteen, was added.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, AUGUST 1, 1820.

STATES.	FREE WHITE MALES					
	<i>Under ten years of age.</i>	<i>Of ten years and under sixteen.</i>	<i>Between sixteen & eighteen.</i>	<i>Of sixteen and under twenty-six, including heads of families.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six & under forty-five, including heads of families.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families.</i>
Maine,	49,217	24,523	7,146	28,530	27,742	19,178
New Hampshire,	35,466	19,672	5,529	22,703	22,956	18,413
Massachusetts,	70,903	38,573	10,912	40,506	54,414	38,668
Rhode Island,	11,530	5,800	1,767	7,596	6,618	5,888
Connecticut,	36,848	20,682	6,284	25,731	25,632	21,814
Vermont,	35,708	19,241	5,860	24,137	22,635	16,189
New York,	222,608	104,297	29,598	132,733	128,634	81,250
New Jersey,	42,055	19,970	5,956	24,639	24,418	18,537
Pennsylvania,	175,381	77,050	25,901	102,550	97,144	64,493
Delaware,	9,071	4,448	1,719	5,516	5,607	3,263
Maryland,	41,511	18,952	6,261	26,404	27,916	16,960
District of Columbia,	3,276	1,540	550	2,171	2,803	1,291
Virginia,	103,903	46,762	13,148	58,863	57,898	38,245
North Carolina,	75,488	32,912	9,748	39,527	38,264	25,453
South Carolina,	42,658	18,258	5,877	23,984	22,115	13,919
Georgia,	35,444	14,743	4,215	19,483	17,874	10,860
Kentucky,	83,050	36,004	10,383	41,328	38,178	25,138
Tennessee,	67,746	28,497	7,472	31,028	27,540	18,780
Ohio,	111,683	45,858	12,667	57,008	54,432	31,626
Indiana,	29,629	11,454	3,270	14,428	14,072	7,066
Mississippi,	8,104	3,216	1,052	4,560	5,110	2,296
Illinois,	10,554	4,227	1,313	6,224	5,755	2,641
Louisiana,	11,817	4,716	2,105	8,747	11,236	4,822
Missouri territory,	10,677	4,250	1,301	6,537	6,622	2,909
Alabama territory,	17,163	6,281	1,750	9,336	9,055	4,064
Michigan territory,	1,220	559	152	1,324	1,661	609
Arkansas territory,	2,420	985	329	1,427	1,453	686
Total,	1,345,220	612,535	182,205	776,030	766,283	495,065
STATES.	FREE WHITE FEMALES.					
	<i>Under ten years of age.</i>	<i>Of ten years and under sixteen.</i>	<i>Between sixteen & eighteen.</i>	<i>Of sixteen and under twenty-six, including heads of families.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six & under forty-five, including heads of families.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward, including heads of families.</i>
Maine,	46,565	23,982	.....	30,823	28,248	18,527
New Hampshire,	34,599	18,809	.....	24,806	25,797	19,925
Massachusetts,	69,260	38,308	.....	52,805	57,721	46,171
Rhode Island,	10,917	5,769	.....	8,407	8,671	7,157
Connecticut,	35,289	19,833	.....	27,205	29,069	25,073
Vermont,	35,327	18,577	.....	24,713	23,683	15,236
New York,	216,513	101,904	.....	132,492	129,899	72,383

New Jersey,	39,921	19,564	25,637	24,693	18,035
Pennsylvania,	166,710	78,425	101,404	94,345	59,592
Delaware,	8,657	4,311	5,573	5,337	3,299
Maryland,	39,454	19,578	27,293	26,347	15,807
District of Columbia,	3,319	1,640	2,518	2,615	1,351
Virginia,	98,485	45,766	62,411	55,995	35,686
North Carolina,	70,998	33,101	42,253	38,069	25,135
South Carolina,	39,891	18,741	23,662	20,939	13,273
Georgia,	33,177	14,937	18,642	15,365	9,041
Kentucky,	77,641	35,129	41,905	35,483	20,799
Tennessee,	63,419	27,770	31,569	27,931	15,638
Ohio,	106,036	44,106	53,337	48,797	23,689
Indiana,	27,684	10,707	13,635	12,009	5,074
Mississippi,	7,220	3,176	3,791	3,167	1,596
Illinois,	9,558	4,018	4,842	4,166	1,803
Louisiana,	11,662	5,484	6,708	5,695	3,102
Missouri territory,	9,766	3,978	5,076	4,265	1,912
Alabama territory,	15,810	6,289	7,993	6,625	2,895
Michigan territory,	1,130	525	692	695	266
Arkansas territory,	2,142	927	1,179	934	426
Total,	1,280,570	605,375	781,371	736,000	462,888

MALE SLAVES

	<i>Under fourteen.</i>	<i>Of fourteen and under twenty-six.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six and under forty-five.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward.</i>
Maine,				
New Hampshire,				
Massachusetts,				
Rhode Island,	2	1	1	14
Connecticut,			13	24
Vermont,				
New York,	1,861	1,624	932	671
New Jersey,	860	1,583	917	628
Pennsylvania,	1	1	18	65
Delaware,	1,244	839	337	135
Maryland,	21,736	14,846	10,718	6,073
District of Columbia,	1,245	775	671	316
Virginia,	96,881	52,791	45,438	23,164
North Carolina,	48,914	27,511	19,395	10,731
South Carolina,	51,738	32,324	31,641	14,769
Georgia,	33,204	19,541	16,249	6,922
Kentucky,	31,469	17,132	10,944	4,369
Tennessee,	20,314	10,078	6,529	2,826
Ohio,				
Indiana,	43	37	11	7
Mississippi,	7,016	4,600	4,061	1,173
Illinois,	170	179	133	66
Louisiana,	11,675	10,576	10,520	3,495
Missouri territory,	2,491	1,511	852	487
Alabama territory,	9,665	6,563	4,200	1,362
Michigan territory,				
Arkansas territory,	323	276	143	78
Total,	343,852	203,088	165,723	77,365

FEMALE SLAVES.

FREE COLORED MALES.

STATES.	<i>Under fourteen.</i>	<i>Of fourteen and under twenty-six.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six and under forty-five.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward.</i>	<i>Under fourteen.</i>	<i>Of fourteen and under twenty-six.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six and under forty-five.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward.</i>
Maine,					170	86	91	90
New Hampshire,					97	101	85	89
Massachusetts,					1,085	680	896	647
Rhode Island,	2	3	3	22	577	388	343	279
Connecticut,			13	47	1,432	911	865	629
Vermont,					152	113	93	80
New York,	1,544	1,579	1,065	812	5,197	3,011	3,347	1,903
New Jersey,	592	1,285	1,036	656	3,328	1,116	1,000	682
Pennsylvania,	3	2	36	85	5,066	3,348	3,800	1,906
Delaware,	979	611	233	131	2,812	1,317	1,207	1,143
Maryland,	22,740	13,403	9,362	5,520	7,829	3,593	3,756	3,568

District of Columbia,.....	1,311	990	696	375	756	338	349	288
Virginia,.....	92,468	51,972	40,691	21,748	8,145	3,884	3,135	2,685
North Carolina,.....	45,055	25,663	18,326	9,422	3,415	1,728	1,109	1,143
South Carolina,.....	49,904	33,991	30,461	13,857	1,376	732	647	541
Georgia,.....	32,141	19,879	15,631	6,089	330	195	180	146
Kentucky,.....	29,231	17,407	11,801	4,379	585	281	284	343
Tennessee,.....	19,251	11,153	7,192	2,764	700	323	240	238
Ohio,.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,057	544	538	315
Indiana,.....	40	21	21	10	275	146	141	92
Mississippi,.....	6,677	4,897	3,506	974	87	62	52	38
Illinois,.....	139	128	71	31	86	71	55	25
Louisiana,.....	10,763	11,672	7,758	2,305	2,248	876	915	470
Missouri,.....	2,281	1,461	855	284	93	40	36	17
Alabama,.....	9,140	6,141	3,779	1,039	118	83	68	49
Michigan,.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	35	32	27	11
Arkansas,.....	293	268	157	79	18	13	11	2
Total,.....	324,344	202,336	152,693	70,637	47,659	24,012	23,450	17,613

FREE COLORED FEMALES.

STATES.	<i>Under fourteen.</i>	<i>Of fourteen and under twenty-six.</i>	<i>Of twenty-six and under forty-five.</i>	<i>Of forty-five and upward.</i>	<i>All other free persons, except Indians, not taxed.</i>	TOTAL.
Maine,.....	168	115	126	83	66	298,335
New Hampshire,.....	109	99	106	100	139	244,161
Massachusetts,.....	969	778	904	781	128	523,287
Rhode Island,.....	550	523	465	429	44	83,059
Connecticut,.....	1,421	961	950	675	100	275,202
Vermont,.....	170	125	97	73	15	235,764
New York,.....	5,342	4,195	4,126	2,158	701	1,372,812
New Jersey,.....	3,093	1,198	987	766	149	277,575
Pennsylvania,.....	5,465	4,063	4,073	1,797	1,951	1,049,458
Delaware,.....	2,742	1,379	1,307	1,051	.....	72,749
Maryland,.....	7,857	4,461	4,752	5,914	.....	407,350
District of Columbia,.....	828	549	548	392	.....	33,039
Virginia,.....	7,640	4,545	3,772	3,083	250	1,065,379
North Carolina,.....	3,129	1,737	1,345	1,006	.....	638,829
South Carolina,.....	1,223	836	800	671	.....	502,741
Georgia,.....	349	209	195	159	4	340,987
Kentucky,.....	488	254	244	280	182	564,317
Tennessee,.....	532	297	224	173	52	422,813
Ohio,.....	964	549	466	260	139	581,434
Indiana,.....	251	137	120	68	.....	147,178
Mississippi,.....	84	52	44	39	.....	75,448
Illinois,.....	104	50	44	22	40	55,211
Louisiana,.....	2,209	1,557	1,377	824	484	153,407
Missouri,.....	62	39	34	26	29	66,586
Alabama,.....	91	69	58	35	.....	127,901
Michigan,.....	20	20	16	13	131	8,896
Arkansas,.....	8	3	1	3	18	14,273
Total,.....	45,898	28,850	27,181	18,561	4,632	9,638,191

The increase in the whole population has been 33.35 per cent.; for the whites, 34.3; for the whole colored, 29.33; free colored, 27.75; slaves, 29.57. The perceptible decline in the *ratio* of increase is attributed, in part, to the decrease of immigration during the war, and the escape of slaves to the enemy. Such a decline in the *ratio* of *natural* increase may also be expected in the progress of every country. It is more striking in this case, from the fact, that the previous ratio was swelled by the Louisiana purchase.

In ten years, the whites have gained upon the colored and slaves. The proportion of males and females, among the whites, does not greatly vary. The colored females are to the colored males, as 107 to 100.

The number of whites under ten is one-third. Those under 16 years, as compared with those over that age, have diminished.

In the same period, New York has taken the lead by far, and is greater, by one-third, than either Virginia or Pennsylvania. Ohio has become the fifth State, and shoots ahead of Massachusetts, as also does Kentucky. Alabama and Arkansas are introduced.

[To be continued.]

ART. III.—CARLYLE ON WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

WHAT HAVE THE WEST INDIA NEGROES GAINED BY EMANCIPATION, AND WHAT HAS THE WORLD GAINED BY THE EFFORTS OF EXETER HALL PHILANTHROPISTS?

[The following paper appeared in a late number of Frazer's London Magazine. The style and manner are plainly those of Thomas Carlyle, to whom it is attributed. It is a piece of pungent satire, upon the whole body of pseudo philanthropists, who, within the last few years, have been a curse to our own country, as well as to England. The West India question is, for the first time, put in its true light before the English people, and it will much surprise us if a reaction, in favor of common sense, is not the result. The reader will not allow the quaint style, and the odd conceits of Mr. Carlyle, to prevent him from giving an attentive perusal to the matter. We are sure that he will agree with us, that the case of Quashee is disposed of with a master hand, and left in its nakedness, without a single prop or support. When British writers can so speak, it is time for Northern fanaticism to pause and reflect.—Ed.]

THE following occasional discourse, delivered by we know not whom, and of date seemingly above a year back, may, perhaps, be welcome to here and there a speculative reader. It comes to us—no speaker named, no time or place assigned, no commentary of any sort given—in the hand-writing of the so-called "Doctor," properly "Absconded Reporter," Dr. Phelin M'Quirk, whose singular powers of reporting, and also whose debts, extravagances, and sorrowful insidious finance-operations, now winded up by a sudden disappearance, to the grief of many poor trades-people, are making too much noise in the police offices at present! Of M'Quirk's composition, we by no means suppose it to be; but from M'Quirk, as the last traceable source, it comes to us; offered, in fact, by his respectable, unfortunate landlady, desirous to make up part of her losses in this way.

To absconded reporters, who bilk their lodgings, we have, of course, no account to give; but if the speaker be of any eminence or substantiality, and feel himself aggrieved by the transaction, let him understand that such, and such only, is our connection with him or his affairs. As the colonial and negro question is still alive, and likely to grow livelier for some time, we have accepted the article, at a cheap market rate; and give it publicity, without, in the least, committing ourselves to the strange doctrines and notions shadowed forth in it. Doctrines and notions which, we rather suspect, are pretty much in a "minority of one," in the present era of the world. Here, sure enough, are peculiar views of the rights of negroes; involving, it is probable, peculiar ditto of innumerable other rights, duties, expectations, wrongs and disappointments, much argued of, by logic and by grape-shot, in these emancipated epochs of the human mind. Silence now, however, and let the speaker himself enter:

My Philanthropic Friends: It is my painful duty to address some words to you, this evening, upon the rights of negroes. Taking, as we hope we do, an extensive survey of social affairs, which we find all in a state of the frightfullest embroilment, and, as it were, of inextricable final bankruptcy, just at present, and being desirous to adjust ourselves in that huge up-break, and unutterable welter of tumbling ruins, and to see well that our grand proposed Association of Associations, the UNIVERSAL ABOLITION-OF-PAIN-ASSOCIATION, which is meant to be the consummate golden flower, and summary of modern philanthropisms, all in one, do not issue as a universal "Sluggard-and-Scoundrel Protection Society"—we have judged that, before constituting ourselves, it would be very proper to commune earnestly with one another, and discourse together on the leading elements of our great problem, which surely is one of the greatest. With this view, the council has decided, both that the negro question, as lying at the bottom, was to be the first handled, and, if possible, the first settled; and then, also, what was of much more questionable wisdom, that—that, in short, I was to be speaker on the occasion. An honorable duty! yet, as I said, a painful one! Well, you shall hear what I have to say on the matter; and you will not, in the least, like it.

West Indian affairs, as we all know, and some of us know to our cost, are in a rather troublous condition this good while. In regard to West Indian affairs, however, Lord John Russell is able to comfort us with one fact, indisputable where so many are dubious, that the negroes are all very happy and doing well. A fact very comfortable indeed. West Indian whites, it is admitted, are far enough from happy; West Indian colonies not unlike sinking wholly into ruin; at home, too, the British whites are rather badly off—several millions of them hanging on the verge of continual famine—and, in single towns, many thousands of them very sore put to it, at this time, not to live "well," or as a man should, in any sense, temporal or spiritual, but to live at all—these, again, are uncomfortable facts; and they are extremely extensive and important ones. But, thank heaven, our interesting black population—equaling, almost, in number of heads, one of the ridings of Yorkshire, and in *worth* (in quantity of intellect, faculty, docility, energy, and available human valor and value), perhaps one of the streets of seven diols—are all doing remarkably well. "Sweet blighted lilies"—as the American epitaph on the nigger child has it—sweet blighted lilies, they are holding up their heads again! How pleasant, in the universal bankruptcy abroad, and dim, dreary stagnancy at home, as if, for England too, there remained nothing but to suppress Chartist riots, banish united Irishmen, vote the supplies, and *wait*, with arms crossed, till black anarchy and social death devoured us also, as it has done the others; how pleasant to have always this fact to fall back upon; our beautiful black darlings are at last happy; with little labor except to the teeth, *which*, surely, in those excellent horse-jaws of theirs, will not fail!

Exeter Hall, my philanthropic friends, has had its way in this matter. The twenty millions, a mere trifle, despatched with a single dash of the pen, are paid; and, far over the sea, we have a few black persons rendered extremely "free" indeed. Sitting yonder, with their beautiful muzzles up to the ears in pumpkins, imbibing sweet pulps and juices;

the grinder and incisor teeth ready for every new work, and the pumpkins cheap as grass in those rich climates; while the sugar crops rot round them, uncut, because labor cannot be hired, so cheap are the pumpkins; and at home, we are but required to rasp from the breakfast loaves of our own English laborers, some slight "differential sugar duties," and lend a poor half million, or a few more millions, now and then, to keep that beautiful state of matters going on. A state of matters lovely to contemplate, in these emancipated epochs of the human mind, which has earned us, not only the praises of Exeter Hall, and loud, long-eared halleluiahs of laudatory psalmody from the friends of freedom everywhere, but lasting favor (it is hoped) from the heavenly powers themselves; which may, at least, justly appeal to the heavenly powers, and ask them, if ever, in terrestrial procedure, they saw the match of it! Certainly, in the past history of the human species, it has no parallel; nor, one hopes, will it have in the future.

Sunk in deep froth-oceans of "Benevolence," "Fraternity," "Emancipation-principle," "Christian Philanthropy," and other most amiable-looking, but most baseless, and, in the end, baleful and all-bewildering jargon—sad product of a skeptical eighteenth century, and of poor human hearts, left *destitute* of any earnest guidance, and disbelieving that there ever was any, christian or heathen, and reduced to believe, in rose-pink sentimentalism alone, and to cultivate the same under its christian, anti-christian, broad-brimmed, Brutus-headed, and other forms—has not the human species gone strange roads during that period? and poor Exeter Hall, cultivating the broad-brimmed form of christian sentimentalism, and long talking, and bleating, and braying, in that strain—has it not worked out results? Our West India legislatings, with their spoutings, anti-spoutings, and interminable jangle and babble—our twenty millions, down on the nail for blacks of our own—thirty gradual millions more, and many brave British lives to boot, in watching blacks of other people's—and now, at last, our ruined sugar estates, differential sugar duties, "immigration loan," and beautiful blacks, sitting there, up to the ears in pumpkins, and doleful whites, sitting here, without potatoes to eat; never, till now, I think, did the sun look down on such a jumble of human nonsenses, of which, with the two hot nights of the Missing-Despatch Debate,* God grant that the measure might now, at last, be full! But no, it is not yet full; we have a long way to travel back, and terrible flounderings to make, and, in fact, an immense load of nonsense to dislodge from our poor heads, and manifold cobwebs to rend from our poor eyes, before we get into the road again, and can begin to act as serious men that have work to do in this universe, and no longer as windy sentimentalists, that merely have speeches to deliver, and despatches to write. O Heaven! in West Indian matters, and in all manner of matters, it is so with us—the more is the sorrow!

The West Indies, it appears, are short of labor, as, indeed, is very conceivable in those circumstances. Where a black man, by working half an hour a day (such is the calculation), can supply himself, by aid of sun and soil, with as much pumpkin as will suffice, he is likely to be

* Does any reader now remember it? A cloudy reminiscence of some such thing, and of noise in the newspapers upon it, remains with us—fast hastening to abolition for every man.

a little stiff to raise into hard work! Supply and demand, which, science says, should be brought to bear on him, have an up-hill task of it with such a man. Strong sun supplies itself gratis—rich soil, in those unpeopled or half-peopled regions, almost gratis: these are *his* supply; and half an hour a day, directed upon these, will produce pumpkin, which is his “demand.” The fortunate black man! very swiftly does he settle his account with supply and demand; not so swiftly the less fortunate white man of these tropical localities. He, himself, cannot work; and his black neighbor, rich in pumpkin, is in no haste to help him. Sunk to the ears in pumpkin, imbibing saccharine juices, and much at his ease in the creation, he can listen to the less fortunate white man’s “demand,” and take his own time in supplying it. Higher wages, massa; higher, for your cane crop cannot wait; still higher—till no conceivable opulence of cane crop will cover such wages! In Demerara, as I read in the blue book of last year, the cane crop, far and wide, stands rotting; the fortunate black gentlemen, strong in their pumpkins, having all struck till the “demand” rise a little. Sweet, blighted lilies, now getting up their heads again!

Science, however, has a remedy still. Since the demand is so pressing, and the supply so inadequate (equal, in fact, to nothing in some places, as appears), increase the supply; bring more blacks into the labor-market, then will the rate fall, says science. Not the least surprising part of our West Indian policy, is this recipe of “immigration;” of keeping down the labor-market in those islands, by importing new Africans to labor and live there. If the Africans that are already there could be made to lay down their pumpkins and labor for a living, there are already Africans enough. If the new Africans, after laboring a little, take to pumpkins like the others, what remedy is there? To bring in new and ever new Africans, say you, till pumpkins themselves grow dear—till the country is crowded with Africans, and black men there, like white men here, are forced, by hunger, to labor for their living? That will be a consummation. To have “emancipated” the West Indies into a *black Ireland*—“free,” indeed, but an Ireland, and black! The world may yet see prodigies, and reality be stranger than a nightmare dream.

Our own white or sallow Ireland, sluttishly starving, from age to age, on its act-of-parliament “freedom,” was hitherto the flower of mismanagement among the nations; but what will this be to a negro Ireland, with pumpkins themselves fallen scarce like potatoes? Imagination cannot fathom such an object; the belly of chaos never held the like. The human mind, in its wide wanderings, has not dreamt, yet, of such a “freedom” as that will be. Toward that, if Exeter Hall, and science of supply and demand, are to continue our guides in the matter, we are daily traveling, and even struggling, with loans of half a million, and such like, to accelerate ourselves.

Truly, my philanthropic friends, Exeter Hall philanthropy is wonderful; and the social science—not a “gay science,” but a rueful—which finds the secret of this universe in “supply and demand,” and reduces the duty of human governors to that of letting men alone, is also wonderful. Not a “gay science,” I should say, like some we have heard of; no, a dreary, desolate, and, indeed, quite abject and distressing one;

what we might call, by way of eminence, the *dismal science*. These two, Exeter Hall philanthropy and the Dismal Science, led by any sacred cause of black emancipation, or the like, to fall in love and make a wedding of it—will give birth to progenies and prodigies; dark, extensive moon-calves, unnameable abortions, wide-coiled monstrosities, such as the world has not seen hitherto!

In fact, it will behoove us of this English nation, to overhaul our West Indian procedure from top to bottom; and to ascertain a little better what it is that fact and nature demand of us, and what only Exeter Hall, wedded to the Dismal Science, demands. To the former set of demands we will endeavor, at our peril—and worse peril than our purse's, at our soul's peril—to give all obedience. To the latter we will very frequently demur, and try if we cannot stop short where they contradict the former, and, especially, *before* arriving at the black throat of ruin, whither they appear to be leading us. Alas, in many other provinces, beside the West Indian, that unhappy wedlock of philanthropic liberalism and the Dismal Science, has engendered such all-enveloping delusions, of the moon-calf sort—and wrought huge woe for us, and for the poor, civilized world, in these days! And sore will be the battle with said moon-calves; and terrible the struggle to return out of our delusions, floating rapidly on which, not the West Indies alone, but Europe generally, is nearing the Niagara Falls. [*Here various persons, in an agitated manner, with an air of indignation, left the room; especially one very tall gentleman, in white trousers, whose boots creaked much. The President, in a resolved voice, with a look of official rigor, whatever his own private feelings might be, enjoined, "Silence! Silence!" The meeting again sat motionless.*]

My philanthropic friends, can you discern no fixed headlands in this wide-weltering deluge of benevolent twaddle and revolutionary grape-shot that has burst forth on us—no sure bearings at all? Fact and nature, it seems to me, say a few words to us, if, happily, we have still an ear for fact and nature. Let us listen a little, and try.

And first, with regard to the West Indies, it may be laid down as a principle, which no eloquence in Exeter Hall, or Westminster Hall, or elsewhere, can invalidate or hide, except for a short time only, that no black man, who will not work according to what ability the gods have given him for working, has the smallest right to eat pumpkin, or to any fraction of land that will grow pumpkin, however plentiful such land may be, but has an indisputable and perpetual *right* to be compelled, by the real proprietors of said land, to do competent work for his living. This is the everlasting duty of all men, black or white, who are born into this world. To do competent work, to labor honestly according to the ability given them; for that, and for no other purpose, was each one of us sent into this world; and woe is to every man who, by friend or by foe, is prevented from fulfilling this, the end of his being. That is the "unhappy" lot—lot equally unhappy cannot otherwise be provided for man. Whatsoever prohibits or prevents a man from this, his sacred appointment, to labor while he lives on earth—that, I say, is the man's deadliest enemy; and all men are called upon to do what is in their power, or opportunity, toward delivering him from it. If it be his own indolence that prevents and prohibits him, then his own indolence is the

enemy he must be delivered from ; and the first "right" he has—poor indolent blockhead, black or white—is, that every *unprohibited* man, whatsoever wiser, more industrious person may be passing that way, shall endeavor to "emancipate" him from his indolence, and, by some wise means, as I said, compel him to do the work he is fit for. This is the eternal law of nature for a man, my beneficent Exeter Hall friends ; this, that he shall be permitted, encouraged, and, if need be, compelled, to do what work the Maker of him has intended, by the making of him for this world. Not that he should eat pumpkin with never such felicity in the West India islands is, or can be, the blessedness of our black friend—but that he should do useful work there, according as the gifts have been bestowed on him for that. And his own happiness, and that of others around him, will alone be possible, by his and their getting into such a relation that this can be permitted him, and, in case of need, that this can be compelled him. I beg you to understand this, for you seem to have a little forgotten it, and there lie a thousand inferences in it, not quite useless for Exeter Hall, at present. The idle black man in the West Indies, had, not long since, the right, and will again, under better form, if it please Heaven, have the right (actually the first "right of man" for an indolent person) to be *compelled* to work as he was fit, and to *do* the Maker's will, who had constructed him with such and such prefigurements of capability. And I incessantly pray Heaven, all men, the whitest alike, and the blackest, the richest and the poorest, in other regions of the world, had attained precisely the same right, the divine right of being compelled (if "permitted" will not answer) to do what work they are appointed for, and not to go idle another minute, in a life so short ! Alas, we had then a perfect world ! and the millennium and true "organization of labor," and reign of complete blessedness, for all workers and men, had then arrived, which, in these, our own poor districts of the planet, as we all lament to know, it is very far from having yet done.

Let me suggest another consideration withal ; West India islands, still full of waste fertility, produce abundant pumpkins ; pumpkins, however, you will please to observe, are not the sole requisite for human well-being. No ! for a pig they are the one thing needful—but for a man, they are only the first of several things needful. And now, as to the right of chief management in cultivating those West India lands—as to the "right of property" so called, and of doing what you like with your own. The question is abstruse enough. Who it may be that has a right to raise pumpkins and other produce on those islands, perhaps none can, except temporarily, decide. The islands are good withal for pepper, for sugar, for sago, arrowroot, for coffee, perhaps for cinnamon and precious spices—things far nobler than pumpkins, and leading toward commerces, arts, politics, and social developments, which, alone, are the noble product, where men (and not pigs with pumpkins) are the parties concerned ! Well, all this fruit, too, fruit spicy and commercial, fruit spiritual and celestial, so far beyond the merely pumpkinish and grossly terrene, lies in the West India lands ; and the ultimate "proprietaryship" of them—why, I suppose, it will vest in him who can the *best* educe from them, whatever of noble produce they were created fit for yielding. He, I compute, is the real

"Vicegerent of the Maker" there ; in him, better and better chosen, and not in another, is the "property" vested by decree of Heaven's chancery itself !

Up to this time, it is the Saxon British mainly ; they hitherto have cultivated with some manfulness ; and when a manfuller class of cultivators, stronger, worthier to have such land, abler to bring fruit from it, shall make their appearance, they, doubt it not, by fortune of war, and other confused negotiation and vicissitude, will be declared by nature and fact to be the worthier, and will become proprietors, perhaps, also, only for a time. That is the law, I take it, ultimate supreme, for all lands, in all countries, under this sky. The one perfect, Eternal Proprietor, is the Maker who created them ; the temporary, better or worse proprietor, is he whom the Maker has sent on that mission ; he who the best hitherto can educe from said lands the beneficent gifts the Maker endowed them with—or, which is but another definition of the same person, he who leads hitherto the manfullest life on that bit of soil, doing better than another yet-found can do, the Eternal Purpose and Supreme Will there.

And now observe, my friends, it was not Black Quashee, or those he represents, that made those West India islands what they are, or can, by any hypothesis, be considered to have the right of growing pumpkins there. For countless ages, since they first mounted oozy on the back of earthquakes, from their dark bed in the ocean deeps, and reeking, saluted the tropical sun, and ever onward, till the European white man first saw them, some three short centuries ago, those islands had produced mere jungle, savagery, poison reptiles and swamp malaria—till the white European first saw them, they were, as if not yet created ; their noble elements of cinnamon, sugar, coffee, pepper, black and gray, lying all asleep, waiting the white Enchanter, who should say to them, awake ! Till the end of human history, and the sounding of the trump of doom, they might have lain so, had Quashee, and the like of him, been the only artists in the game. Swamps, fever-jungles, man-eating caribs, rattle-snakes, and reeking waste and putrefaction ; this had been the produce of them under the incompetent caribal (what we call cannibal) possessors till that time ; and Quashee knows, himself, whether ever he could have introduced an improvement. Him, had he, by a miraculous chance, been wafted thither, the caribals would have eaten, rolling him as a fat morsel under their tongue—for him, till the sounding of the trump of doom, the rattlesnakes and savageries would have held on their way. It was not he, then—it was another than he ! Never, by art of his, could one pumpkin have grown there, to solace any human throat ; nothing but savagery, and reeking putrefaction, could have grown there ! These plentiful pumpkins, I say, therefore, are not his ; no, they are another's ; they are only his under conditions—conditions which Exeter Hall, for the present, has forgotten ; but which nature, and the Eternal Powers, have, by no manner of means, forgotten, but do, at all moments, keep in mind ; and, at the right moment, will, with the due impressiveness, perhaps in rather a terrible manner, bring again to our mind also !

If Quashee will not honestly aid in bringing out those sugars, cinnamons, and nobler products of the West India islands, for the benefit

of all mankind, then, I say, neither will the powers permit Quashee to continue growing pumpkins there for his own lazy benefit, but will sheer him out, by and by, like a lazy gourd overshadowing rich ground—him, and all that partake with him—perhaps in a very terrible manner. For, under favor of Exeter Hall, the “terrible manner” is not yet quite extinct with the destinies in this universe; nor will it quite cease, I apprehend, for soft-sawder or philanthropic stump-oratory, now, or henceforth. No! the gods wish, besides pumpkins, that spices and valuable products be grown in their West Indies; thus much they have declared in so making the West Indies; infinitely more they wish—that manful, industrious men occupy their West Indies, not indolent, two-legged cattle, however “happy” over their abundant pumpkins! Both these things, we may be assured, the immortal gods have decided upon—passed their eternal act of parliament for; and both of them, though all terrestrial parliaments and entities oppose it to the death, shall be done. Quashee, if he will not help in bringing out the spices, will get himself made a slave again (which state will be a little less ugly than his present one), and with beneficent whip, since other methods avail not, will be compelled to work. Or, alas, let him look across to Hayti, and trace a far sterner prophecy! Let him, by his ugliness, idleness, rebellion, banish all white men from the West Indies, and make it all one Hayti, with little or no sugar-growing, black Peter exterminating black Paul, and, where a garden of the Hesperides might be, nothing but a tropical dog-kennel and pestiferous jungle—does he think that will forever continue pleasant to gods and men? I see men, the rose-pink cant all peeled away from them, land one day on those black coasts; men *sent* by the laws of this universe, and the inexorable course of things; men hungry for gold, remorseless, fierce as old buccaneers were—and a doom for Quashee, which I had rather not contemplate! The gods are long-suffering; but the law, from the beginning, was, He that will not work shall perish from the earth—and the patience of the gods has limits!

Before the West Indies could grow a pumpkin for any negro, how much European heroism had to spend itself in obscure battle; to sink, in mortal agony, before the jungles, the putrescences and waste savageries could become arable, and the devils be, in some measure, chained there! The West Indies grow pineapples, and sweet fruits, and spices; we hope they will, one day, grow beautiful, heroic human lives too, which is surely the ultimate object they were made for; beautiful souls and brave; sages, poets, what not—making the earth nobler round them, as their kindred from of old have been doing; true “splinters of the old Hartz Rock;” heroic white men, worthy to be called old Saxons, browned with a mahogany tint in those new climates and conditions. But under the soil of Jamaica, before it could even produce spices, or any pumpkin, the bones of many thousand British men had to be laid. Brave Colonel Fortescue, brave Colonel Sedgwick, brave Colonel Brayne—the dust of many thousand strong old English hearts lies there, worn down swiftly in frightful travail, chaining the devils, which were manifold. Heroic Blake contributed a bit of his life to that Jamaica. A bit of the great Protector’s own life lies there—beneath those pumpkins lies a bit of the life that was Oliver Cromwell’s. How

the great Protector would have rejoiced, to think that all this was to issue in growing pumpkins, to keep Quashee in a comfortably idle condition! No, that is not the ultimate issue, not that!

The West Indian whites, so soon as this bewilderment of philanthropic and other jargon abates from them, and their poor eyes get to discern a little what the facts are and what the laws are, will strike into another course, I apprehend! I apprehend they will, as a preliminary, resolutely *refuse* to permit the black man any privilege whatever of pumpkins till he agrees for work in return. Not a square inch of soil in those fruitful isles, purchased by British blood, shall any black man hold to grow pumpkins for him, except on terms that are fair toward Britain. Fair; see that they be not unfair, not toward ourselves, and still more, not toward him. For injustice is *forever* accursed; and precisely our unfairness toward the enslaved black man has—by inevitable revulsion and fated turn of the wheel—brought about these present confusions. Fair toward Britain it will be, that Quashee give work for privilege to grow pumpkins. Not a pumpkin, Quashee, not a square yard of soil, till you agree to do the state so many days of service. Annually that soil will grow you pumpkins; but annually also without fail, shall you, for the owner thereof, do your appointed days of labor. The state has plenty of waste soil; but the state will religiously give you none of it on other terms. The state wants sugar from these islands, and means to have it; wants virtuous industry in these islands, and must have it. The state demands of you such service as will bring these results, this latter result which includes all. Not a black Ireland, by immigration, and boundless black supply for the demand; not that—may the gods forbid!—but a regulated West Indies, with black working population in adequate numbers; all “happy,” if they find it possible; and *not* entirely unbeautiful to gods and men, which latter result they *must* find possible! All “happy” enough; that is to say, all working according to the faculty they have got, making a little more divine this earth which the gods have given them. Is there any other “happiness”—if it be not that of pigs fattening daily to the slaughter? So will the state speak by and by.

Any poor, idle black man, any idle white man, rich or poor, is a mere eye-sore to the state; a perpetual blister on the skin of the state. The state is taking measures, some of them rather extensive, in Europe at this very time, and already, is in Paris, Berlin, and elsewhere, rather tremendous measures, to *get* its rich white men set to work; for, alas, they also have sat, negro-like, up to the ears in pumpkin, regardless of “work,” and of a world all going to waste for their idleness! Extensive measures, I say; and already (as, in all European lands, this scandalous fear of street-barricades and fugitive sham-kings exhibits) *tremendous* measures for the thing is instant to be done.

The thing must be done everywhere; *must* is the word. Only it is so terribly difficult to do; and will take generations yet, this of getting our rich European white men “set to work!” But yours in the West Indies, my obscure black friends, your work, and the getting of you set to it, is a simple affair; and by diligence, the West Indian legislatures, and royal governor, setting their faces fairly to the problem, will get it done. You are not “slaves” now; nor do I wish, if it can be

avoided, to see you slaves again; but decidedly you will have to be servants to those that are born *wiser* than you, that are born lords of you—servants to the whites, if they *are* (as what mortal can doubt they are?) born *wiser* than you. That, you may depend upon it, my obscure black friends, is and was always the law of the world, for you and for all men; to *be* servants, the more foolish of us to the more wise; and only sorrow, futility and disappointment will betide both, till both, in some approximate degree, get to conform to the same. Heaven's laws are not repealable by earth, however earth may try—and it has been trying hard, in some directions, of late! I say, no well being, and in the end no being at all, will be possible for you or us, if the law of heaven is not complied with. And if "slave" mean essentially "servant hired for life," or by a contract of long continuance, and not easily dissoluble—I ask, Whether in all human things, the "contract of long continuance" is not precisely the contract to be desired, were the right terms once found for it? Servant hired for life, were the right terms once found, which I do not pretend they are, seems to me much preferable to servants hired for the month, or by contract dissoluble in a day. An ill-situated servant, that—servant grown to be *nomadic*; between whom and his master a good relation *cannot* easily spring up!

To state articulately, and put into practical law books, what on all sides is *fair* from the West India white to the West India black; what relations the Eternal Maker *has* established between these two creatures of His; what he has written down, with intricate but ineffaceable record, legible to candid human insight, in the respective qualities, strengths, necessities and capabilities of each of the two; this will be a long problem; only to be solved by continuous human endeavor, and earnest effort gradually perfecting itself as experience successively yields new light to it. This will be to "find the right terms" of a contract that will endure, and be sanctioned by Heaven and obtain prosperity on earth, between the two. A long problem, terribly neglected hitherto; whence these West Indian sorrows; and Exeter Hall monstrosities, just now! But a problem which must be entered upon, and by degrees be completed. A problem which, I think, the English people, if they mean to retain human colonies, and not black Irelands in addition to the white, cannot begin too soon! What are the true relations between negro and white, their mutual duties under the sight of the Maker of them both; what human laws will assist both to comply more and more with these? The solution, only to be gained by earnest endeavor and sincere experience, such as have never yet been bestowed on it, is not yet here; the solution is perhaps still distant; but some approximation to it, various real approximations, could be made, and must be made; this of declaring that negro and white are *unrelated*, loose from one another, on a footing of perfect equality, and subject to no law but that of supply and demand according to the Dismal Science; this which contradicts the palpablest facts, is clearly no solution, but a cutting of the knot assunder; and every hour we persist in this is leading us toward *dissolution* instead of solution.

What, then, is practicably to be done? Much, very much, my

friends, to which it hardly falls to me to allude at present; but all this of perfect equality, of cutting loose from one another; all this, with "immigration loan," "happiness of black peasantry," and the other melancholy stuff that has followed from it, will first of all require to be undone, and have the ground cleared of it, by way of preliminary to "doing!"

Already one hears of black *Adscripti gleba*; which seems a promising arrangement, one of the first to suggest itself in such a complicity. It appears the Dutch blacks, in Java, are already a kind of *Adscripts*, after the manner of the old European serfs; bound by royal authority; to give so many days of work a year. Is not this something like a real approximation; the first step toward all manner of such? Wherever, in British territory, there exists a black man, and needful work to the just extent is not to be got out of him, such a law, in defect of better, should be brought to bear upon said black man! How many laws of like purport, conceivable some of them, might be brought to bear upon the black man and the white, with all despatch, by way of solution instead of dissolution to their complicated case just now! On the whole, it ought to be rendered possible, ought it not, for white men to live beside black men, and in some just manner to command black men, and produce West Indian fruitfulness by means of them? West Indian fruitfulness will need to be produced. If the English cannot find the method for that, they may rest assured there will another come (brother Jonathan or still another) who can. He it is whom the gods will bid continue in the West Indies, bidding us ignominiously, Depart, ye quack-ridden, incompetent!—

One other remark, as to the present trade in slaves, and to our suppression of the same. If buying of black war-captives in Africa, and bringing them over to the sugar-islands for sale again, be, as I think it is, a contradiction of the laws of this universe, let us heartily pray to Heaven to end the practice; let us ourselves help Heaven to end it, wherever the opportunity is given. If it be the most flagrant and alarming contradiction to the said laws which is now witnessed on this earth; so flagrant and alarming that a just man cannot exist, and follow his affairs in the same planet with it; why, then indeed —. But is it, quite certainly, such? Alas, look at that group of *unsold*; unbought, unmarketable Irish "free" citizens, dying there in the ditch, whither my lord of rackrent and the constitutional sheriffs have evicted them; or at those "divine missionaries," of the same free country, now traversing, with rags on back and child on each arm, the principal thoroughfares of London, to tell men what "freedom" really is;—and admit that there may be doubts on that point! But if it *is*, I say, the most alarming contradiction to the said laws which is now witnessed on this earth; so flagrant a contradiction that a just man cannot exist, and follow his affairs in the same planet with it, then, sure enough, let us, in God's name, fling aside all our affairs, and hasten out to put an end to it, as the first thing the Heavens want us to do. By all manner of means; this thing done, the Heavens will prosper all other things with us! Not a doubt of it—provided your premise be not doubtful.

But now furthermore give me leave to ask: Whether the way of doing it is this somewhat surprising one, of trying to blockade the con-

tinent of Africa itself, and to watch slave-ships along the extremely extensive and unwholesome coast? The enterprise is very gigantic, and proves hitherto as futile as any enterprise has lately done. Certain wise men once, before this, set about confining the cuckoo by a big circular wall; but they could not manage it! Watch the coast of Africa, good part of the coast of the terraqueous globe? And the living centers of this slave mischief, the live coal that produces all this world-wide smoke, it appears, lie simply in two points, Cuba and Brazil, are perfectly accessible and manageable.

If the laws of Heaven do authorize you to keep the whole world in a pothor about this question—if you really appeal to the Almighty God upon it, and set common interests, and terrestrial considerations, and common sense, at defiance in behalf of it—why, in Heaven's name, not go to Cuba and Brazil with a sufficiency of 74-gun ships, and signify to those nefarious countries, that their procedure on the negro question is too bad; that of all the solicisms now submitted to on earth, it is the most alarming and transcendent, and, in fact is such that a just man cannot follow his affairs any longer in the same planet with it; that they clearly will not, the nefarious populations will not, for love or fear, watching or entreaty, respect the rights of the negro enough; wherefore you here, with your seventy-fours, are come to be king over them, and will, on the spot, henceforth see for yourselves that they do it. Why not, if Heaven do send you? The thing can be done; easily, if you are sure of that proviso. It can be done, it is the way to "suppress the slave-trade;" and so far as yet appears, the one way.

Most thinking people!—If hen-stealing prevail to a plainly unendurable extent, will you station police officers at every henroost; and keep them watching and cruising incessantly to and fro over the parish in the unwholesome dark, at enormous expense, with almost no effect; or will you not try rather to discover where the fox's den is, and kill the fox? Most thinking people, you know the fox and his den; there he is—kill him, and discharge your cruisers and police-watchers!

Oh, my friends, I feel there is an immense fund of human stupidity circulating among us, and much clogging our affairs for some time past! A certain man has called us, "of all peoples the wisest in action;" but, he added, "the stupidest in speech:" and it is a sore thing, in these constitutional times, times mainly of universal parliamentary and other eloquence, that the "speakers" have all first to emit, in such tumultuous volumes, their human stupor, as the indispensable preliminary, and everywhere we must first see that and its results *out*, before beginning any business!—*Explicit MS.*

ART IV.—CALIFORNIA—THE NEW AMERICAN EL DORADO.

1. THOMAS BUTLER KING'S REPORT ON CALIFORNIA, 1850.
2. T. O. LARKIN'S VIEWS OF CALIFORNIA, 1849.

THOUGH the public mind, both in Europe and in this country, has been so much excited within the last two years, upon the subject of California, as to cause every hint or suggestion relating to its condition,

or prospects, to be greedily sought after and examined, no matter from what source emanating, we have thought it so difficult to sift the truth from the error, where the field for exaggeration was so ample, that our pages have presented little, if anything, to the reader upon the subject. We have preferred to await developments and that settled calm which, sooner or later, is sure to follow in the train of every excitement of the body politic.*

Though this period can hardly be said yet to have arrived, it will be admitted the circumstances are far more favorable for a judicious opinion than they have previously been. The embellishments of letter writers have given place to the more minute and well-considered reports of government agents, selected for their ability, and with few, if any, motives for misrepresentation. We have selected the labors of two of these agents, whose names are at the head of our paper, as a text for the remarks which will follow, and shall embody such facts from other sources as may tend to the further illustration of the subject.

The *political condition* of California may be briefly described. On the treaty of peace, the mail and revenue laws of the United States were extended over the territory, but in every other respect the Mexican system, such as it had previously existed, was left in full force and obligation. Scarcely a single copy of the laws of Mexico were to be found in the country, and, of consequence, a system of rule succeeded, which was exceedingly arbitrary and unequal. Extortion became frequent; land titles were involved in confusion—even injustice was preferable to litigation. The growth of cities carried with it none of the incidents and powers of municipal governments. The Federal authorities, though receiving millions from the customs, paid back nothing toward advancing the condition of the community. Dissatisfaction was the natural and necessary result.

Meanwhile, the tide of emigration, with extraordinary impetus, was setting into the country. The insatiate thirst for gold impelled hundreds and thousands, from every port and haven of the Union, toward the shores of the new El Dorado. Again was revived the days of Cortez, and Pizarro and Raleigh, and, as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, bands of adventurers were organized for distant and perilous voyages, and with the highest hopes and enthusiasm. No class of society escaped the contagion. The more intelligent and enterprising were the first to move, and every gale from the far-west wafted the tidings of gold and precious gems, scattered, as it were, upon the surface of this almost fabled region, with greater profusion than they were emboveled in the famed Ophir and Tarshish of antiquity. Enthusiasm grew to higher and higher pitch, and has, even at this moment, lost little of its intensity.

It is remarkable of the Americans, that they are an order-loving and law-abiding people, in the strictest sense of these terms. The condi-

* We have, however, published, in our first volume, an article on California and Oregon; in our sixth, analyzed the reports of Colonel Fremont, &c.; in our seventh, summed up many important facts in relation to the country, when discussing the Pacific railroad; a similar paper appears in our eighth volume, in the same connection.

tion of things found by them in California could not long subsist. *Government* seems to be, with them, an instinct and a passion. Three legislative bodies were organized, respectively at San Francisco, Sonoma and Sacramento, with the prospect of others still, and of much confusion and conflict of laws and institutions. Congress adjourned without extending any relief to the country. The conviction became strong with the people, that the time for action had arrived, and that the remedies were in their own hands. At the call of general Riley, they met in convention in Monterey, and, after protracted discussions, adopted a State constitution and government, and elected two senators and a representative, who now await, at Washington, a seat in the Congress of the nation.

It is not our province now to discuss the political questions which are exciting so much debate in the country, in regard to the admission of this new State. There are many circumstances about which we have never been satisfied in the movement. A military officer takes the lead in ordering a convention of the people. There is no account of any previous census officially taken. What were the qualifications of voters? how many were immigrants from foreign countries, and not naturalized? what proportion had any fixed purpose of domicile in the country? These are important points we have never seen determined. What influences, other than the unbiassed judgment of the people, were brought to bear in giving a turn so novel to their affairs? We have had difficulties in our mind at every step, upon all of these heads, and do not hesitate frankly to confess them.

There is something extraordinary to be sure, in the whole case, which should protect it from the stringency of general rules. Yet the precedent does not appear the best in the world, to be established. If allowed, it should be only upon its own peculiar exigencies, and upon the express condition of furnishing no rule for future conduct.

We make this remark from nothing contained in the instrument adopted by the Californians, for their government. They had a right to insist upon the exclusion of slavery, if they might make a constitution at all; though there is this, at the same time, to which the South may well object. This territory was acquired by our common blood and treasure. It is no sooner ours, than an effort is made by the free States of the North, to exclude us from occupying it with our property. Such is the strength and power of the northern opposition, that property, which is ever timid, and will seek no hazards, is excluded from the country in the person of the slave, and southerners are forced, willingly or not, to remain at home. Emigrants, meanwhile, crowd from the North. They mold public sentiment in California. Their first act is to confirm the *exclusion* of their Southern confederates! Is it well to say that the convention embraced a majority of southerners? Does this affect this case? Public men, the world over, will accord their principles to the doctrines that are *popular*. Elected with a full knowledge of the views of their constituency, we can suppose few of them hardy enough, and independent enough, to brave political death by running counter to the prevailing sentiment. They were not *free* to act in the circumstances of the country. They were but recording a judgment which was previously formed, and for which they had no responsibility.

The population of upper California was estimated, in 1802, to consist of 15,562 converted Indians, and 1,300 of other classes. In 1831, the number of Indians had increased to 18,683, and the whites, etc., to 4,342, making a total of 23,025 in the whole territory. At the close of the Mexican war, it was supposed there were 15,000 Americans and Californians in the country. By the 1st January, 1850, the number of American emigrants increased 80,000, while those of foreign birth increased 20,000, making a present total population of 115,000 to 120,000, exclusive of Indians. These Indians, who are not converted, inhabit the mountains, are a very low order of beings, and entertain little friendship for our people. Their number has been estimated as high as 300,000.*

We have been accustomed to the most unfavorable reports, in regard to the climate of California. Mr. King goes very fully into the subject, and presents many interesting facts. He thinks, upon the whole, it will compare favorably with our northern States, whatever may be the first impressions of settlers, in the novelty of their position. In consequence of the well ascertained results of the currents of air, as influenced by the earth's motion on its axis, the climate of California is divided into the two great seasons of *wet* and *dry*, the former embracing the period, at San Francisco, from the middle of November until the middle of May. From the prevalence of cold winds and fogs along the coast, the summer season is more uncomfortable, to strangers, than the winter. As the interior is penetrated, the case is different, the days being by no means so hot, and the nights cool and pleasant. This rule obtains in the valleys of Sacramento and Joaquin. On the Sierra Nevada, the thermometer frequently ranges from 110° to 115° in the shade, during two or three hours of the day. The nights, on the other hand, are cool and invigorating. From meteorological records, kept in various parts of the territory, great variety of tempera-

* Mr. Larkin says:—"1st. The population of California in July, 1846, was about 15,000, exclusive of Indians; in July, 1849, it is about 35,000 to 40,000. The Americans are the lesser half of the people. From July to January, 1850, probably 40,000 Americans, by land and water, will reach this country, and after September, the Europeans will commence arriving here. By January, 1850, we shall number 80,000 to 100,000 people, and in 1851, from 175,000 to 200,000.

"2d. The character of the natives prior to July, 1846, was proverbial for inactivity, indolence, and an unwillingness to learn or improve. They had no wish or desire to indulge, or enjoy themselves, in any new or foreign customs, and they were happy, and kind and hospitable to all strangers. Foreign residents, happily situated among the natives, improving their advantages, gradually became men of property, and many of them have married into some of the principle families in California.

"Very many of our emigrants are Mexicans and South Americans—laborers (*peons*) of the most abject class—mild and inoffensive in their general manners, who are guided with ease. They are, however, slothful, ignorant, and, from early life, addicted to gambling. They will sleep under the canopy of a tree, and enjoy themselves to the full, if they have a blanket, or a sheet, with which to enwrap themselves; and they are content, if they have only paper cigars to last them a week, and a monte-bank to resort to at will. This class of men are brought, by their employers, from Chili, Peru and Mexico. The employers are men of ease and urbanity, who will, in time, take their departure from this country—most of their laborers, or *peons*, remaining behind, to live and die here."

ture is observable, which has, no doubt, given rise to the various and conflicting opinions, so generally current. Mr. King well remarks :

"Those who take up their residence in the valleys, which are situated between the great plain of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, and the coast range of hills, find the climate, especially in the dry season, as healthful and pleasant as it is possible for any climate to be, which possesses sufficient heat to mature the cereal grains and edible roots of the temperate zone.

"The division of the year into two distinct seasons, dry and wet, impresses those who have been accustomed to the variable climate of the Atlantic States unfavorably. The dry appearance of the country in summer, and the difficulty of moving about in winter, *seem* to impose serious difficulties in the way of agricultural prosperity, while the many and decided advantages resulting from the mildness of winter, and the bright, clear weather of summer, are not appreciated. These will appear when I come to speak of the productions of California. We ought not to be surprised at the dislike which the immigrants frequently express to the climate. It is so unlike that from which they come, that they cannot readily appreciate its advantages, or become reconciled to its extremes of dry and wet.

"If a native of California were to go to New England in winter, and see the ground frozen and covered with snow, the streams with ice, and find himself in a temperature many degrees colder than he had ever experienced before, he would probably be as much surprised that people could, or would live in so inhospitable a region, as any immigrant ever has been at what he has seen or felt in California.

"So much are our opinions influenced by early impressions, the vicissitudes of the seasons with which we are familiar, love of country, home and kindred, that we ought never to hazard a hasty opinion, when we come in contact with circumstances entirely different from those to which we have, all our lives, been accustomed."

The valleys of California, parallel to the coasts, are of unsurpassed fertility, having a deep black, alluvial soil. Many beautiful and abundant valleys exist about the foot hills of the Sierra Nevada. The Colorado, which has not been explored, is supposed, from the color of its deposits, to flow through an alluvial valley. The plains of the Sacramento and San Joaquin, embracing 50 or 60,000 square miles, it is conceived, will support a population as large as Ohio or New York.

Previous to the treaty of annexation, the exports of California were chiefly hides and tallow, and the people pastoral in their pursuits. Wheat, barley and oats, were cultivated. An ox was valued at \$2, a horse \$5 to \$10. The former now command \$20 to \$30, and the latter \$60 to \$150. The number of cattle in the country is 500,000. Mr. King argues that, as the population advances, this stock, with its increase, will be found insufficient, and large demands be made upon the western States. He supposes one hundred thousand will be driven annually across the plains and mountains, though, it seems to us, a country possessing such grazing capacities as California, must soon throw off this dependence. Flocks of sheep are, even now, brought from New Mexico.

The cereal grains may be cultivated upon the plains and hills, without the aid of *artificial irrigation*, though, at the missions, this was adopted to the large increase of production. In the rich alluvial valleys, wheat and barley have produced from forty to sixty bushels, from one bushel of seed, *without irrigation*. Irish potatoes, turnips, onions, &c., grow in great abundance and perfection. In the valleys east of the coast hills, Indian corn, rice, and perhaps tobacco, will mature.

The cultivation of the grape has been carried to great perfection. The same of apples, pears and peaches. Wild oats present almost boundless pastures.

South of 39°, and west of the Nevada, scattering groves of oak and red wood only are found. The rest is entirely bare of forests. This is not attributed so much to defects of soil, as to fires continually sweeping over the luxuriant dried grass. North of 39° the country abounds in timber. The farmer's experience will modify his first unfavorable impressions.

"It is soon ascertained that the soil will produce abundantly without manure; that flocks and herds sustain themselves through the winter without being fed at the farm-yard, and, consequently, no labor is necessary to provide forage for them; that ditches are easily dug, which present very good barriers for the protection of crops, until live fences can be planted and have time to grow. Forest trees may be planted with little labor, and, in very few years, attain a sufficient size for building and fencing purposes. Time may be usefully employed in sowing various grain and root crops, and, therefore, it is not necessary to gather them. They can be used or sold from the field where they grow. The labor, therefore, required in most of the old States to fell the forests, clear the land of rubbish and prepare it for seed, may here be applied to other objects.

"All these things, together with the *perfect security of all crops, in harvest time, from injury by wet weather*, are probably sufficient to meet any expense which may be incurred in irrigation, or caused, for a time, by a scanty supply of timber."

Great confusion and embarrassment may be anticipated in settling the rights of claimants of PUBLIC LANDS in California. Questions will arise as to rights of the Jesuits, under Mexican grants, to the immense and valuable tracts which they claim. Nearly all the territory south of 39° and west of the Sacramento, is covered by Mexican grants, which reserve the minerals to the government. There is great want of precision and certainty as to boundaries under the loose systems which prevailed. It will become Congress, in succeeding to the right of Mexico, to scrutinize very closely the whole of these claims, since the "purchase gives to us, not only all the lands which have not been granted, but all the reserved minerals and metals, and also reversionary rights, which might accrue to Mexico from a want of compliance on the part of the grantees with the conditions of their grant, or a want of perfection in the grants." But few patents have been located in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys, where 15 to 20,000,000 acres of valuable lands exist.

In regard to the COMMERCIAL RESOURCES of California, we believe Mr. King altogether visionary. Upon the calculation that, in five years, there will be a population in the country of half a million, he argues, their trade with the United States alone will be one hundred millions annually! These estimates, in our opinion, contradict all experience, and are devoid of substantial foundation. The wildest dreams of imagination will not support them. It is from this part of the report only, that our opinions of Mr. King, as an authority to be relied upon, are at all shaken. We believe the calculation safer, that it will require *twenty* years for his figures, either in regard to commerce or population, to be reached. Nothing but a railroad across the continent, if that be practicable, can produce such results in a shorter period. Discreet men will not suffer their calculations to be disturbed and distorted by

the frenzied enthusiasm, which has characterized the first year of California emigration. We believe the destinies of that region to be high and glorious, but time only can bring them about, and things have too much, at present, the aspect of John Law's celebrated epoch, to be altogether encouraging!

But to follow Mr. King. He supposes that San Francisco will be the great mart for supplying South America and all the East with American products. The return cargoes, being inconsiderable in bulk, chiefly gold, etc., freights for other articles will be low, and South American products must seek Californian ports, as a cheaper mode of reaching the United States. In consequence of the trade winds, vessels for the United States reach San Francisco in about the same time that they do Valparaiso, Callao, &c. The silver of Mexico will seek the mart of San Francisco, for the higher value attributed to it by our laws. The imports of lumber into the country for some time to come, Mr. King estimates at \$8,000,000 annually; of clothing, \$5,000,000; of coal, supposing the Panama road built, \$6,000,000, &c. The whole commerce for 1850 he estimates at \$25,000,000. In regard to the China trade we make an extract:

"The countries on the west coast of America have no exports which find a market in China, or other parts of Asia. San Francisco will, therefore, become not only the mart of these exports, but also of the products and manufactures of India, required in exchange for them, which must be paid for principally in gold coin or gold dust. Neither gold coin nor gold dust will answer as a remittance to China. Gold, in China, is not currency in any shape, nor is it received in payment of import duties, or taxes on land, or on the industry of the people.

"The value of pure gold in China is not far from \$14 the ounce. Hence, the importer of manufactures and products of India into San Francisco will remit the gold coin or dust direct to New York, for investment in sterling bills on London. These bills will be sent to London, and placed to the credit of the firm in China, from whom the merchandise had been received, and who, on learning of the remittance having gone forward to their agents, will draw a *six-months sight bill* for the amount, which will sell in China at the rate of four shillings and two pence or *three pence* per dollar.

"I have a statement before me from one of the most eminent merchants and bankers of New York, who was, for many years, engaged extensively in the India trade, which shows that the profit or gain on ten thousand ounces of gold, thus remitted, would be \$34,434 44
And that the loss on the same quantity, sent direct to China, would be 15,600 00

Total difference in profit and loss in favor of the remittance to
New York. \$50,034 44

It will thus be perceived, that nature has so arranged the winds and currents of the Pacific, and disposed of her vast treasures in the hills and mountains of California, as to give to the harbor of San Francisco the control of the commerce of that ocean, as far as it may be connected with the west coast of America."

The GOLD REGION of California is between four and five hundred miles long, and from forty to fifty miles broad, following the line of the Sierra Nevada. Many streams penetrate this area, and wash out from the quartz, in which it is found combined, the particles and fragments of gold. The indications are strong that the two were created together. These particles or scales are found in the bars and shoals of rivers, in ravines, and in what are called the dry diggings. When the streams dry up, they are readily collected, and in the dry diggings, the gold and quartz are found combined, cropping out from the hill sides, and

requiring the greatest mechanical force to separate them. The following passage from Mr. King will be read with universal interest:

"The rivers present very striking, and, it would seem, conclusive evidence respecting the quantity of gold remaining undiscovered in the quartz veins. It is not probable that the gold in the dry diggings, and that in the rivers—the former in lumps, the latter in dust—was created by different processes. That which is found in the rivers has undoubtedly been cut or worn from the veins in the rock, with which their currents have come in contact. All of them appear to be equally rich. This is shown by the fact, that a laboring man may collect nearly as much in one river as he can in another. They intersect and cut through the gold region, running from east to west, at irregular distances of fifteen to twenty, and perhaps some of them thirty, miles apart.

"Hence it appears that the gold veins are equally rich in all parts of that most remarkable section of country. Were it wanting, there are further proofs of this in the ravines and dry diggings, which uniformly confirm what nature so plainly shows in the rivers.

"For the purpose of forming some opinion respecting the probable amount or value of treasure in the gold region, it will be proper to state the estimates which have been made of the quantity collected since its discovery.

"Gold was first discovered in the south fork of the American river, at a place called Sutter's mill, now Coloma—late in May or early in June, 1848. Information which could be relied on announcing this discovery was not received in this city until late in the following autumn.

"No immigration into the mines could, therefore, have taken place from the old States in that year. The number of miners was, consequently, limited to the population of the territory—some five hundred men from Oregon—Mexicans and other foreigners who happened to be in the country, or came into it during the summer and autumn, and the Indians, who were employed by or sold their gold to the whites.

"It is supposed there were not far from five thousand men employed in collecting gold during that season. If we suppose they obtained an average of one thousand dollars each—which is regarded by well-informed persons as a low estimate—the aggregate amount will be \$5,000,000.

"Information of this discovery spread in all directions during the following winter; and, on the commencement of the dry season in 1849, people came into the territory from all quarters—from Chili, Peru, and other States on the Pacific coast of South America—from the west coast of Mexico—the Sandwich islands, China, and New Holland.

"The emigration from the United States came in last, if we except those who crossed the isthmus of Panama, and went up the coast in steamers, and a few who sailed early on a voyage round cape Horn.

"The American emigration did not come in by sea, in much force, until July and August, and that overland did not begin to arrive until the last of August and first of September. The Chilinos and Mexicans were early in the country. In the month of July it was supposed there were fifteen thousand foreigners in the mines. At a place called Sonoranian camp, it was believed there were at least ten thousand Mexicans. They had quite a city of tents, booths, and log cabins; hotels, restaurants, stores, and shops of all descriptions, furnished whatever money could procure. Ice was brought from the Sierra, and ice-creams added to numerous other luxuries. An inclosure, made of the trunks and branches of trees, and lined with cotton cloth, served as a sort of amphitheater for bull-fights; other amusements, characteristic of the Mexicans, were to be seen in all directions.

"The foreigners resorted principally to the southern mines, which gave them a great superiority in numerical force over the Americans, and enabled them to take possession of some of the richest in that part of the country. In the early part of the season, the Americans were mostly employed on the forks of the American and on Bear, Uba and Feather rivers. As their numbers increased, they spread themselves over the southern mines, and collisions were threatened between them and the foreigners. The latter, however, for some cause, either fear, or having satisfied their cupidity, or both, began to leave the mines late in August, and by the end of September many of them were out of the country.

"It is not probable, that during the first part of the season, there were more than five or six thousand Americans in the mines. This would swell the whole number, including foreigners, to about twenty thousand the beginning of September. This period embraced about half of the season during which gold may be successfully collected in the rivers.

"Very particular and extensive inquiries respecting the daily earnings and acquisitions of the miners, lead to the opinion, that they averaged an ounce per day. This is believed by many to be a low estimate; but from the best information I was able to procure, I am of the opinion it approaches very near actual results. The half of the season, up to the first of September, would give sixty-five working days, and to each laborer, at \$16 per ounce, \$1,040. If, therefore, we assume \$1,000 as the average collected by each laborer, we shall probably not go beyond the mark.

"This would give an aggregate of \$20,000,000 for the first half of the season—\$15,000,000 of which was probably collected by foreigners. During the last half of the season, the number of foreigners was very much diminished, and, perhaps, did not exceed five thousand. At this time the American immigration had come in by land and sea, and the number of our fellow-citizens in the mines had, as was estimated, increased to between forty and fifty thousand. They were most of them inexperienced in mining, and it is probable the results of their labors were not as great as has been estimated for the first part of the season and experienced miners; assuming that the average of half an ounce per day ought to be considered as reasonable, it would give an aggregate of about \$20,000,000. If from this we deduct one-fourth on account of the early commencement of the wet season, we have an estimate of \$15,000,000; at least five of which was collected by foreigners, who possessed many advantages from their experience in mining and knowledge of the country.

"These estimates give, as the result of the operations in the mines for 1848 and 1849, the round sum of \$40,000,000—one-half of which was probably collected and carried out of the country by foreigners.

"From the best information I could obtain, I am led to believe, that at least \$20,000,000, of the \$40,000,000, were taken from the rivers, and that their richness has not been sensibly diminished, except in a few locations, which had early attracted large bodies of miners. This amount has principally been taken from the northern rivers, or those which empty into the Sacramento; the southern rivers, or those which flow into the San Joaquin, having been, comparatively, but little resorted to until near the close of the last season. These rivers are, however, believed, by those who have visited them, to be richer in the precious metal than those in the northern part of the gold region.

"There is one river, which, from reported recent discoveries, and not included in the description of those flowing into the great plane west of the Sierra Nevada, is as rich in gold as any of them. That is the Trinity, which rises north of the head waters of the Sacramento, and discharges into the Pacific not far from the fortieth degree of north latitude.

"There are, as nearly as my recollection serves me, twelve principal rivers in which gold has been found; but most of the twenty millions in the above estimate was taken from six or seven of them, where it was first discovered and most accessible.

"Adopting the hypothesis that the gold found in the beds of these streams has been cut or worn from the veins in the quartz through which they have forced their way, and considering the fact that they are *all rich*, and are said to be nearly equally productive, we may form some idea of the vast amount of treasure remaining undisturbed in the veins which run through the masses of rock in various directions over a space of forty or fifty miles wide, and near five hundred miles long.

"If we may be allowed to form a conjecture respecting the richness of these veins from the quantity of lump or coarse gold found in the dry diggings, where it appears to occupy nearly the same superficies it did originally in the rock—its specific gravity being sufficient to resist ordinary moving causes—we shall be led to an estimate almost beyond human calculation and belief. Yet, as far as I can perceive, there is no plausible reason why the veins which remain in the quartz may not be as valuable as those which have become separated from the decomposed rock. This matter can only be satisfactorily decided by actual discoveries.

"The gold region of California having attracted a large share of public at-

tention, it was to be expected that various suggestions and propositions would be made with respect to the proper mode of disposing of it.

"The difficulty in arranging a suitable plan has been the want of accurate information on which a well considered opinion might be formed. Its distance from the seat of government, the conflicting statements and reports respecting it, served only to bewilder and mystify the public mind, and render a thorough examination of it necessary, to ascertain whether its value is such as to render legislation necessary for its proper protection and management."

Mr. King concludes his report with some important suggestions in regard to the course government should pursue in the control of this extensive and extraordinary mineral domain. In the apprehension that it will be chiefly taken up by capitalists and speculators, if regulated by the usual land system, he advises that Congress retain the proprietary and issue permits to settlers, etc., Americans only, by birth or naturalization, to collect and take away the gold. A fair price for such a permit he regards as an ounce, or \$16 per annum, to each individual. The business of regulating and granting permits to be intrusted to commissioners, who shall have power to lay out towns and dispose of lots, reserving the mineral resources. In certain cases, where machinery can be used to advantage, and capital is required in working the mines, he proposes grants, with a certain per centum reserved, etc. The revenue from all of these sources, amounting, perhaps, to several millions annually, is proposed to be applied toward the payment of interest upon the purchase money of California, to create a sinking fund to pay the principal, and to provide for a system of public education and internal improvements in the country.*

The following statistics are taken from the report of the treasurer of the United States mint at Philadelphia, published in the National Intelligencer:

Receipts of Gold in the United States from California.

Total amount of California gold received up to the 28th of February, 1850, as per last report.....	\$8,500,000
Receipts from the 1st to the 15th of March, 1850,.....	825,000
Amount of gold dust on hand, but not weighed, estimated at.....	150,000
Total,.....	\$9,475,000

Branch Mint at New Orleans.

Total receipts up to 1st January, 1850, as per last report,.....	\$666,079
Receipts during January, 1850,.....	376,512
Receipts during February, 1850,.....	561,538
Estimated receipts from the first to the 15th of March, 1850,.....	300,000
Total,.....	\$1,904,129

* The *quicksilver mines* of California are believed to be numerous, extensive, and very valuable. There is one near San Jose, which belongs to, or is claimed by, Mr. Forbes, of Tepic, in Mexico. The cinnabar ore, which produces the quicksilver, lies near the surface, is easily procured, and believed to be remarkably productive.

Discoveries of other mines are reported, but no certain information respecting them has been made public. It is, undoubtedly, a fortunate circumstance, that nature, in bestowing on California such vast metallic treasure, has provided, almost in its immediate neighborhood, inexhaustible stores of quicksilver, which is so essential in gold mining.

It is believed that there are many extensive beds of silver, iron and copper ores, in the Territory; but there is no information sufficiently accurate respecting them, to justify any statement of their existence or value.

Recapitulation.

Receipts at the United States mint, Philadelphia,.....	\$9,475,000
Receipts at the branch mint, New Orleans,.....	1,904,129

Grand total,.....\$11,379,129
 To which may be added say \$750,000 worth of gold dust still remaining in private hands.

The extraordinary flow of gold from California, taken in connection with the extreme richness of the lately-discovered mines of Siberia, has given rise to much anxious inquiry and speculation, regarding the probable effects upon the commerce, prices and exchanges, of the world. A few reflections will quiet any uneasiness upon these points.

According to the calculation of Mr. Jacobs, the circulation of the precious metals in Europe, *doubled* in the first fifty years after the discovery of America. In the century ending with 1600, the amount *quadrupled*. In the next hundred years, it did little more than *double*. During the eighteenth century, America alone, produced \$786,000,000, being an average of nearly eight millions per annum. This average began then to decline, from the exhaustion of the mines, etc.

Should the California results continue for any long period, their present value, or increase with the progress of settlement, etc., as was the case for two or three hundred years after the discovery of America, it is inevitable that a *depreciation in the value of the precious metals, must again be the result*. Should gold, alone, be the metal discovered and brought into market, reversing the case which occurred with the early Spanish settlers of the continent, the depreciation will *alone* be sustained by gold, and the *proportionate* value it enjoys to silver become more or less disturbed. The extent of this disturbance is difficult to foresee. It is conceivable that silver might become the more valuable of the two, though the greater *intrinsic* value, for some purposes, of gold, be at the same time admitted. During the fifteenth century, a pound of gold was worth ten to twelve pounds of silver, but the production of the latter metal being so much more considerable than the former, after the opening of the American mines, the gold pound became gradually equal to 13, 14, 15 and even 16 pounds of silver. This difference, however, when the period embraced is considered, about 300 years, does not appear so striking as at first sight. The fall in the value of silver as compared with gold, notwithstanding the prodigious amount continually produced, did not average ten per cent. in a hundred years, or *one mill per cent. per annum*!

To determine the decline in the *intrinsic* value of silver in the same period, is a much more difficult operation. We must compare *prices*, say, for instance, of corn and wheat, in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. The reduction in the value of the precious metals will of course be marked in the *rise* of prices. We have not at present the data for such computations, which are very intricate, and require much subtle argumentation. Whatever this rise in prices, none can doubt it must be extended gradually over a very long period, and cannot be much appreciated in the life time of a single man, unless under circumstances much more extraordinary than any thing we can conceive, promised even by California.

It is worthy of remark, too, that the value of silver has not declined

in the proportion of its larger production; since, were this the case, as Mr. Jacobs has conclusively shown, its value now would be only one fortieth, or one forty-fifth that of gold, this being the relation of production in the American mines. Nor is this scale of the two metals a *fixed* one the world over. The relation in Japan is 1 to 8 to 9; in China, 1 to 12 to 13; in France, 1 to 15½; in Mexico, 1 to 15¾; variations depending upon the customs and fashions of countries in the use of jewelry, plate, etc., and in the demands of the arts.

It will also aid us in speculating upon any probable *depreciation* in the value of the precious metals, and *appreciation* in prices to reflect upon the increasing demand for these metals, which the progress of civilization and society induces, both for currency and in the arts, and upon the present supply now existing in the world. This supply upon the estimate of that able economist, Mr. Jacobs, cannot be less now than \$5,000,000,000. Of this perhaps \$1,800,000,000 is in currency. Admitting, then, an average from California of \$20,000,000 per annum, the whole stock of the world would be increased but one-third of one per cent., and it would require 250 years to double the supply! At fifty millions per annum, one hundred years would be required. It may be inferred how unimportant from year to year these results would be felt upon prices, though it be admitted; true their rise will be in a much greater ratio than the increase of production.*

We will conclude this paper with an extract from an article prepared by us in 1846, and published in the second volume of the Review. The extract is a quotation from Albert Gallatin's invaluable report upon currency, etc.:

"The total amount of gold and silver produced by the mines of America to the year 1803 inclusively, and remaining there or exported to Europe, has been estimated by Humboldt at about 5,000,000,000 dollars, and the product of the years 1804-30, may be estimated at 750,000,000; if to this we add 600,000,000, the nearly ascertained product to this time of the mines of Siberia; about 450,000,000 for the African gold dust, and for the product of the mines of Europe (which yielded about 3,000,000 a year, in the beginning of this century), from the discovery of America to this day, and 300,000,000 for the amount existing in Europe prior to the discovery of America, we find a total not widely differing from the fact, of 7,200,000,000. It is much more difficult to ascertain the amount which now remains in Europe and America together. The loss by friction and accidents might be estimated, and researches made respecting the total amount which has been exported to countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope; but that which has been actually consumed in gilding, plated ware, and other manufactures of the same character, cannot be correctly ascertained. From the imperfect

* Since writing this paper, and after the first part is in print, it occurs to us we have not spoken in sufficiently decided terms upon the admission of California as a State government. Our opinion has long been fixed. The country should be remanded back to her *territorial* condition, to undergo the usual and regular forms of preparation for State sovereignty. We would constitute no such precedent as to receive her now. If this, however, cannot be, *then the question must be kept inseparable from that of the other territories, and the reduction of the boundaries of this State within proper limits, be a sine qua non.*

data within our reach, it may, we think, be affirmed that the amount still existing in Europe and America certainly exceeds 4000, and most probably falls short of \$5,000,000,000. Of the medium of \$4,500,000,000 which we have assumed, it appears that from one-third to two-fifths is used as *currency*, and that the residue consists of plate, jewels, and other manufactured articles. It is known that of the gross amount of \$7,200,000,000, about \$1,800,000,000, or one-fourth of the whole in value, and one forty-eighth in weight, consisted of gold. Of the \$450,000,000, the presumed remaining amount in gold and silver, the proportion of gold is probably greater on account of the exportation to India and China having been exclusively in silver, and of the greater care in preventing every possible waste in an article so valuable as gold."

DEPARTMENT OF MANUFACTURES.

1. WHAT THE SOUTHERN AND WESTERN STATES CAN DO IN COMPETITION WITH THE NORTH IN MANUFACTURES OF COTTON.

LOUISVILLE, February 1, 1850.

To A. A. Lawrence, Esq., Boston, Mass.:

In the last December and January numbers of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine are articles over your signature, in which many reasons, figures and *dicta*, are given, why the great staple of nine of the southern States cannot be manufactured with profit on or near the fields of its production. Believing that the subject has not been exhausted, and that, as a gentleman of high character, you must desire to give the public not only the truth, but the whole truth, I respectfully request you to elucidate certain points in the matter under discussion, to which I will call your attention.

By the last census it appears, that the cotton mills in the United States were, in 1840, situated as follows: 674 in New England; 277 in middle States; 20 in western free States; 269 in slave States. Within the last ten years the increase of these mills has been, as is supposed, more rapid out of than in New England. Many of these new mills have been constructed since the able letters of Mr. Abbott Lawrence to Mr. Rives, in which the agricultural States were strongly urged to diversify their pursuits and strengthen their independence by the introduction of manufactures. Nearly all of these mills, west of the Alleghanies and south of Virginia, have, as is said, been productive of large profits to their proprietors, and eminently useful to the districts in which they are located. Those on the tributaries of the Mississippi fully supply the home market with yarn and the very lowest grades of cloth. The South Carolina and Georgia mills find ready customers for their surplus yarns and brown sheetings in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and even as far north as New York. As far as we are advised by the parties interested in these mills, it appears that they have met with no unusual obstructions in the progress of their work; that capital has met every call upon it, and that, in all cases, the supply of efficient labor has been fully equal to the demand.

Very many new cotton mills are now in progress of construction in these States, and for the last two years, one of the most prominent topics of discussion in the newspapers of the South and West has been, not whether cotton mills could or could not be operated at home, but when, where and by whom, they should be put in operation. The Georgia mills were declaring dividends of three and four per cent. quarterly. The Democratic press of Tennessee found arguments against the tariff in the enormous profits made in the cotton mills of that State. The 40,000 spindles in the Pittsburg cotton mills, notwithstanding the "radical defect" in steam power, seemed to be enriching their proprietors, while the profits of the small cotton mills of Kentucky, Ohio, Tennessee and

Alabama (generally operated with imperfect machinery and without system), yielded, as common report said, from ten to fifty per cent. per annum. Now, in your articles there is a "*suppressio veri*." The heading of the articles is, "American Cotton Manufactures," &c. In the pages of a periodical that circulates throughout the world, and is quoted as authority by statesmen and men of business at home and abroad, you, a merchant and manufacturer, and of a name that, in itself, carries great weight on all matters connected with this department of industry—you, I repeat, have not adverted to a single cotton mill south of Long Island sound. A stranger would rise from the examination of your articles, under the impression that the "American" cotton manufactures were all within the limits of New England, and that the plantation States had just begun to inquire if there was any natural and inseparable connection between ice and spindles, granite and looms.

You have not given a full, and, therefore, have not given a fair, statement of the cotton manufactures of New England. You have offered no explanation of the singular fact, that, while the rate of money in the Boston market ranged high above the legal standard, and the dividends of the first class mills were reduced to an average below that standard, the new manufacturing cities of Lawrence and Hadley were rapidly growing up under the expenditure of millions of dollars. It is understood abroad, that the gentlemen engaged in building these cities of cotton mills and boarding houses are unsurpassed for thrift and sagacity. You show us no certain track to the source of that stream of wealth that has enabled Massachusetts to invest so many millions of dollars in chartered companies at home and securities abroad. The soil of Massachusetts does not supply her people with food; the ships registered at her ports do not suffice to transport the material to and the product from her manufacturers; her railroads and city lots cannot originate capital.

You do not refer to the means by which cotton is transported some hundred miles into the interior of New England, and there, by the aid of very simple machinery, cleansed of its waste, twisted and woven into coarse domestics, and brought back, over the same road traveled by the cotton, to clothe the cotton and corn producer. The hardy people on the upper lands of Georgia and Tennessee, and on the healthy banks of the Ohio, do not comprehend why they cannot save a part, at least, of the expenses attending this long and circuitous transportation to and from the base of the Monadnock mountains and the shores of lake Win-nipiseogee.

These producers of cotton and corn, and these consumers of coarse cloth, have now, if they had not before, a right to look to you for information as to the how and where this enormous expenditure of time, labor and capital, can be saved or lessened. In their simplicity they think, that materials and subsistence, or the chief elements to be combined, should attract the laborers and their tools; that there is but little more reason in taking cotton and food from three to six thousand miles, to be ground in a mill of simple construction into coarse cloth, than in taking their soil to the shop of the plow maker. You intimate that steam power for cotton mills is radically defective, but these people find it very convenient in taking their cotton and corn to the eastern mill, and in bringing its product (less the toll) back to them. They hear of no such defect from the Pittsburgh, Wheeling and Cincinnati cotton spinners; they find in their school books pictures of the immense steam cotton mills of Manchester and Glasgow, and they have heard that one of the Lowell mills is moved by the power of coals that cost over twenty cents a bushel; they want, therefore, some explanation why they cannot use their coals, at four cents a bushel, for the same purpose.

The list of dividends and prices of stocks, furnished by you, is certainly of value, especially as it is the first list of the kind ever published in New England; still, it gives but very few of the facts on which can be formed a fair estimate of what profits can be made on the working of cotton in Massachusetts or elsewhere. It is desirable to know, *why*, for a series of years, the Appleton mills made but six per cent., and the Dwight mill eleven per cent., and both at the same discount in the market (twenty per cent.); and why the Merrimack stock should be at twelve per cent. premium, and the York stock at seven per cent. discount, when each had averaged fourteen per cent. dividends. We wish to know which of these mills have old, and which new, machinery, and what is the difference in the efficiency of the two. Save the work of Mr. Montgomery,

which, if not out of print, is out of the book stores, we have access to no treatise on this important branch of New England industry. We can learn but little from the meager statistics of the Lowell hand-books. Your tables are doubtless correct as far as they go, but we cannot understand them fully without additional notes. Besides, we would be pleased to know why we cannot copy the best models of New England cotton mills. We have adopted her best agricultural implements—is there any reason why she will not make for us her most approved spindles and looms? The South and West have not proposed to make lawns or prints; they will be content, at present, to make the coarsest cotton fabrics, and not endeavor to penetrate the wiser mysteries of manufacturing the staple. They are told that one-half of this American staple is made up into coarse yarns and coarse cloth; and they think that when they have supplied their large and rapidly increasing home market with these coarse necessities, they may have enough knowledge, skill and capital, to send the same articles to China in exchange for tea, or to Brazil in exchange for coffee, and have, out of this or some other operation, the spare money or commodity to exchange for the nicer goods made in New England.

We feel less delicacy in asking for this information about the details of manufacturing, as many of us have, for years, supported the protective duties (which first brought into existence, and then sustained, the eastern cotton mills), under the implied obligation, on the part of the eastern manufacturers, that they should teach us the business, if it was worth the following.

The positions taken by the Mississippi valley States, on this subject, are these:

That their rude, bulky and perishable products have already passed, or are fast passing, the limits of demand; and, as a consequent, that their lands and labor must depreciate, unless they diversify their pursuits.

That, besides the natural increase of their agricultural population, already superabundant, they are now receiving emigrants from abroad, in almost countless numbers, who are entering the same fields of labor, and who will soon vastly enlarge the quantity and depress the price of the great staple of the country.

That, at hundreds of points, on or near the cotton fields, where the climate is favorable to labor—where subsistence and power (coals) are cheaper than in any manufacturing country on earth—on great and ever-open, natural highways—as near as, and soon to be nearer, than Manchester and Lowell, to the great cotton goods markets of the world—they might safely *begin* to work up cotton into coarse forms, and on a scale commensurate with their home wants and capacity; to enlarge the area of supply, and to compress the material into forms of less weight and of greater value, as they obtained more experience, better machinery and greater facilities of intercommunication and exchange.

That, at first, and until the home supply of goods was equal to the demand, they might rely on profits in the business nearly equal to the profits in the eastern mills, *plus* the difference in the cost of obtaining the cotton, and of transporting the cotton cloth from the eastern mills to this market. This difference was estimated at about twenty per cent. on the capital employed. Some supposed that labor would be cheaper here than in New England, because subsistence was the cheapest here, and that the less capital would be required by the manufacturer the nearer his mill was to the material and to the market. You, however, assume, but without assigning any reason, that we must pay New-England prices for cotton, and sell goods at New-England prices; and that as much capital is requisite on the cotton field, and at the doors of the consumer, as at points, by the routes of transportation, 3,000 miles distant from either.

And lastly, the people of these States believed, that they had enough spare capital and labor to carry out any plans having these objects in view; or, if not enough, that an abundant supply would flow in from abroad—even from New England, whose sons and daughters are ever ready to take their capital and skill to the best market.

These are the views now deeply impressed on the minds of the southern and western people. Are they reasonable? If not, even at this late hour, your advice, with the full data on which that advice is predicated, may yet save New England from a ruinous rivalry, and the South and West from an injudicious investment of capital and a vast waste of labor. The whole tendency of your articles is to discourage the erection of cotton mills, and especially out of New England—probably this was their aim.

I take up your points in their order of importance to us on the Ohio river.

1. That there is a "radical defect" in steam power.

If this be true, and to the extent intimated by you, we are nearly "hors du combat." That it is not true, is proved by the facts, that millions of people are now engaged in and about the steam cotton mills of Great Britain; that, while the water power of New England is yet unexhausted, many of her shrewdest people are stockholders in steam mills at home; that, at many points in other sections of the Union, steam cotton mills have been operated successfully for years, and, perhaps, in all instances, have secured the home market, in competition with mills at a distance moved by water power; that the ablest engineers of the United States, in their investigations on the relative value of steam and water power, for purposes of a Western armory, have reported, and furnished the facts on which their reports were predicated, that steam power, from coals at ten cents per bushel, was as cheap as water power, at the most favorable locations, and free of "water leave." This point, however, has been so fully discussed in New England, that it would seem needless to make more elaborate statements here.

2. That the South has not the labor and skill to operate cotton machinery.

A full contradiction of this averment is found in the letter of Mr. Gregg, of Graniteville, S. C., published in the December number of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine. You say that 4,500,000 yards of domestics is a large yield for a mill of 10,000 spindles. The Graniteville mill, operated almost entirely by home labor, yields 12,000 yards per day, with 8,400 spindles. This would give over 4,420,000 yards per annum, for a mill of 10,000 spindles. This labor, that seems to approximate very nearly to your standard, is stated to cost twenty per cent. less than the Massachusetts rate. The statements made in the Georgia and Tennessee newspapers, of the effectiveness and abundant supply of operatives in the cotton mills of those States, afford additional evidence of the incorrectness of your position.

When the first mills were building at Lowell, it was supposed by many, that their demand for labor could not easily be supplied. Experience, however, proved that high wages, and the attractions wisely thrown around these mills, commanded whatever supply of help was required. Since that period, new mills have sprung up all over New England; and not only these mills, but the thousand work-shops of the shoebinder, the strawplaiter, and the palm leaf hat-maker, are filled with New-England girls. No reasons can be given why the same call for labor, when the same inducements are held out, will not meet the same answer in the agricultural States, where females have but few opportunities of obtaining a support by respectable and appropriate labor.

3. That there is not spare capital at the South, &c.

There are nine cotton-growing States. You give a table of the unoccupied lands in Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, to prove thereby the proposition stated. But where is the notice of the other five States? Georgia has given visible proof of her capacity to build cotton mills and railroads. The Carolinas are not burthened with public debt. Tennessee is in good credit, and abounds with men of large capital, while the subsistence States on the Ohio are showing a vigor and capacity that almost passes comprehension. Look at Indiana, which commenced this century with a population of less than 5,000, and now numbers over one million of souls. In that State are many thousands of girls who lack employment, and who earnestly desire the education and comforts that they can obtain only by the profitable use of labor.

4. That the capacity of the cotton machinery now in operation is nearly or quite equal to the demand for cotton cloth, and to the capacity of the producers of the material.

The cotton planters are not of this opinion, and attribute the present high price of their staple chiefly to the short crop of last year, the result of cholera, floods, and other casualties, to which causes you make no reference. But if your proposition is true, the cotton and corn growers may pertinently inquire, whether they cannot make coarse cloth at less cost than they of Old or you of New England; and whether the savings in the transportation of cotton, subsistence and cloth, might not, in a few years, amount to a sum larger than the whole cost of mills and machinery. If you will not admit the strength of the coal power on the Ohio, take the vast water power of Tennessee, in the very heart of the

cotton district, and soon to be connected by railroads with the great natural highways of this valley. The savings in transporting the cotton and its coarse product, to say nothing of cheaper subsistence and less capital, would soon build and equip the cotton mill.

There is, to the planter, an over-production of his staple, when it yields him less than eight cents per pound net. There is over-production of cotton to the western stock and food grower, when it yields less than ten cents per pound; for, when it is within that price, the grower limits his purchases of stock and food. Your table of unoccupied lands partially shows *where* more cotton can be grown. At present prices, for ten years, the supply could and would be doubled. Say our slave population is now three millions—the increase is about one-third in ten years. The slaves now actually employed in the cotton fields probably do not exceed seven hundred thousand. Estimating the average production at two and a half millions of bales, an average of five bales to the hand, would show but half a million thus employed, to say nothing of the large number of whites engaged in its production on the uplands. At eleven cents per pound, cotton pays higher profits than any other staple grown in the slave States; and, therefore, that price would cause the transferring of the slaves of the tobacco, hemp and subsistence slave States, to the now unoccupied cotton lands of this valley, and would give an available market to the free subsistence and hemp producers north of those cotton lands. Is there any way by which this result can be effected other than lessening the price of, and thereby increasing the demand for, the heavy cotton fabrics? And can this be done in any way other than by avoiding, as far as possible, the enormous cost of moving the staple far out of the nearest line between the producer and consumer? And is there any other cause which will remove slaves further from the North.

It is said, that as much care and skill is required to gin the cotton as to spin and weave coarse yarns and coarse cloth. We understand, from high English authority, that two-thirds of the usual quantity of the staple will employ the same machinery and hands, when working the higher numbers. England has been gradually yielding the lower numbers to the mills on our seaboard, because the latter were nearer the material. Will not the same cause enable the manufacturer at the Muscle Shoals, at the lower Ohio coal banks, and elsewhere at favorable positions in the South and West, to monopolize that branch of the manufacture; and will not this change, on the whole, tend to increase the demand for, and the profits of, labor, machinery and capital, employed in England and New England, in working up less of the staple into finer and more valuable forms?

5. That the cotton planters are now making more profits by producing, than New England is in working up, the material, and, therefore, that they should still confine themselves to the production.

This conclusion does not necessarily follow the premises. The cotton planter might possibly make more than eastern or European profits, by working up his product at home. Your estimate, however, of the net product of the cotton plantations, is the same as that made in an article of mine published in the July number of DeBow's Commercial Review, of New Orleans. In my estimate was given the product of a *model* plantation on the Mississippi river, and of the *best* soil, and under the *best* climate, for the growth of the staple. There was no allowance made for casualties. The average annual product for each hand was $7\frac{1}{2}$ bales. This estimate is full 33 per cent. above the fair average—perhaps as much above the ordinary yield as the product of Mr. Phinney's *model* farm is above the fair average yield of the farms of Massachusetts. You have taken this high estimate and these best plantations as a fair average. The question is not, however, so much whether the cotton planter shall cultivate his already opened acres, as whether he shall open more; and even if he continues to employ all his slave labor in the field, whether it is not his interest to employ his surplus capital in giving employment in the mill to his poor white neighbors.

You have, as it seems to me, fallen into another error. In measuring the profits of the southern mill, you quote eastern prices current. Brown cottons are here worth the half of one cent per yard more than in Lowell, because it now costs this half cent per yard to bring the cloth here from Lowell. For a similar reason, cotton is here worth one cent per pound less than it is at Lowell. As long as the Lowell mills control the market, and until our home supply of cloth

fully meets the home demand, we have the advantage of this difference, and must always have the advantage in the cost of the material. You give eastern prices of cotton and of cloth. Another correspondent of Mr. Hunt admits that there would be a saving in transportation of a small per cent., if the cotton was manufactured where it grew; but that the amount of "waste" left on the cotton field would be balanced by the boxes or bales around the cloth. In other words, that if the cloth was made at the South or West, it must be sent to New England for sale. Such a necessity does not seem to exist in these valley States.

I am a New Englander, and glory in the land of my birth—in its institutions—in the virtue, the intelligence, the industry and the indomitable energy, of its population. I am one of the many sons of New England, who are endeavoring to introduce into the States of our adoption the habits and pursuits that have made her what she is. With no inconsiderable care and pains, we have gathered and published such facts as would show to the people of the South and West the economy and advantages of compressing their rude and surplus staples into forms of less weight and bulk, of greater value, and thus to prepare them for distant markets, and to be there exchanged for such commodities as are called for by our necessities or desires. Your articles conflict with these facts, and the arguments we have deduced therefrom. Herein is my apology to the public for this letter.

Allow me, in conclusion, to remark, that the profits of New England are, and forever will be, mainly dependent on the prosperity of this valley of the Mississippi. Unless we make the compression alluded to, we cannot pay New England for the fabrics she will prepare for our markets. If the price of cotton rules low, we cannot sell our usual supply of food and stock for the cotton-planting States. The seaboard States cannot afford us markets commensurate with our supply. We cannot long contend with the serfs of central Europe for the food markets of Great Britain. No resource seems left to us but a market at home—at our very doors; and this is only to be obtained by diversifying our pursuits.

If New England will heartily co-operate with us—if she will instruct us how to make, and yield to us the making of, what we can make the cheapest—she will find that her present loss will soon be made up to her, and that we will add many fold to her profits. We shall then see clearly that her policy has resulted in our benefit, and that, as she has led, so will she continue to lead, us to those pursuits that increase our wealth, enlarge our comforts, and strengthen our independence. Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

HAMILTON SMITH.

2. MANUFACTURES IN AFRICA.

We extract the following from the Philadelphia North American :

All the travelers and visitors of the frontier and interior towns of Africa, with whom we have had intercourse, either personally, by letter, or by published accounts, coincide, without exception, in one important particular, namely, that the natives of that vast continent exhibit a remarkable degree of genius, and display, in their numerous manufactured articles, such a knowledge of mechanics as to agreeably surprise all who have heard of, or been privileged to behold, their handiwork.

By a statement of the Rev. Mr. Walker*—missionary of the American board C. F. M., at the Gaboon, a large town just below the equator, and who has lately given to the public a brief description of his recent visit to the neighboring kings and their subjects—it appears that the Africans, although long debased by the blighting effects of heathenism, Mohammedanism, and the evils and atrocities of the accursed slave trade, are susceptible of a change to the truth, by the powerful example of Christianity and civilization.

This fact has been, and is now being, fully verified by their improved condition in every respect, especially of the native tribes in the republic of Liberia, and by thousands of others not yet under its jurisdiction, but to whom a good influence has gone forth. Very many of the original Africans are daily relin-

* "They use none but native iron of their own manufacture; and it is of the finest quality. Many of their knives ring like cast steel; and no flaw or other imperfection can be discovered in them. They will not accept imported iron as a present; for they do not consider it worth carrying home. I brought away numerous specimens of their iron."

quishing their former modes of life, and are becoming more and more accustomed to the means of civilization, and are rapidly and anxiously following in the paths indicated by the Christian light set up—on a hill, as it were—by the citizens of that young nation.

If our readers have any desire to follow out these thoughts, by examining some of the products of these rude untutored people, they will meet with a kind reception on calling at the Colonization Rooms, Walnut street, above 6th, where, in addition to numerous specimens of art and skill, may be seen various objects of natural history from Africa; and a large collection of portraits engravings, &c.

Iron ore is found in Africa in immense quantities; and from it are made, by the untaught natives, various ornamental and useful articles, such as spears, arrows, knives, armlets, leglets, bracelets, &c. A small but regular amount of this important material, made into a peculiar shape, is called a "bar," and appears to be the standard of value by which their currency is regulated. They are exceedingly skillful in the tanning and manufacture of leather.

Their amulet cases, spear and dagger sheaths, whips, bridles, pouches, powder flasks, sandals, &c., are made of this material with remarkable neatness. They also manufacture their own cotton cloths, and dye with indigo and other vegetable dyes, and have the art of permanently fixing the colors they employ. In addition to these, may be named as evidences of their industry, their war-horns, made from the tusks of elephants and other animals; their musical instruments—the strings of the "banjo" being formed from fibers of trees. Their mats for table use, bags for carrying various materials, and baskets of all sizes and descriptions, are wrought with great symmetry and beauty from sea grass and the leaves of their innumerable and useful trees, plants, &c. The palm tree, says a traveler, "is applied by them to three hundred and sixty-five uses. Huts are thatched with palm leaves; its fibers are used for fishing tackle; a rough cloth is made from the inner bark, the fruit is roasted, and is excellent; the oil serves for butter; the palm wine is a favorite drink," &c.

The native African, it is to be understood, is naturally indolent, and although the various articles of labor here mentioned would perhaps convey the impression that they are an industrious people, yet the contrary is the sad fact.

What a market is here opened for the sale of our manufactures? Who can rightly calculate the amount of employment it would afford the operatives and workmen of our own land, to clothe her 160,000,000 millions of inhabitants, and the enormous trade which she could afford us in the luxuries, and what we consider the necessities of life, from her prolific tropical soil?

Well might the poet, speaking of Africa, exclaim:

"Regions immense, unsearchable, unknown,
Bask in the splendors of the solar zone;
A world of wonders—where creation seems
No more the work of Nature, but her dreams."

3. IRON WORKS IN ALABAMA.

We notice that castings from the iron works of Good & Moore, of Benton county, Alabama, are for sale in Mobile. They are equal to the best American, and can be sold as cheap. These iron works yield 20 tons pig iron and hollow ware per week, and 1,600 pounds wrought iron per day. The lime stone used for flux is obtained from the vicinity. Charcoal is used for the furnaces, and is prepared from the abundant pine forests around. It makes the best metal. The proprietors are preparing to construct another furnace and rolling mill to operate by steam. They will compete for supplying iron for the Alabama and Tennessee railroad, and believe that they can supply Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida.

4. COTTON AND COTTON MANUFACTURES AT THE SOUTH.—PART 5*

COMPARATIVE COST AND PRODUCTIVENESS OF COTTON, AND THE COST AND PRODUCTIVENESS OF ITS MANUFACTURE: BY CHARLES T. JAMES.

If, say many persons at the South, we had the capital, so abundant at the North, we could then embark in the manufacturing business with some prospect

* Continued from May number.

of success; but our means are mostly in lands and slaves, and the money capital is deficient for the purpose. This objection, however plausible, is unsound. It rests on a mistaken view of the subject. What has created the large capital in the manufacturing States? A portion of it is, without doubt, the fruits of agriculture and commerce; but by far the greater part is, either directly or indirectly, the production of manufactures, not only of cotton, but of various other materials. The New-England States, for instance, named in a preceding page, though in a prosperous condition compared with former times, had, at the commencement of the cotton manufacturing era, scarcely money capital sufficient to prosecute their commercial and agricultural pursuits. But they did not hesitate on that account. A rich field for operations presented itself, and, money or no money, people determined to enter and cultivate it. Of course, a portion of capital had to be withdrawn from other pursuits, and some debts to be contracted; but this procedure was fully warranted by the prospect presented, and as fully justified by the result. New England might have hesitated to embark in manufacturing enterprises, on the plea of a deficiency of capital, and continued to this time to devote herself entirely to agriculture and commerce to augment that capital. And what would have been the result? She would not now, as all circumstances past and present go to show, possess one-half the wealth she does, nor probably more than two-thirds of her present population. The truth is, the small means and the credit first embarked were increased; the whole was again enhanced by new operations, and so it has continued, till the amount of capital now invested in manufactures of various descriptions, and the wealth that has been created by them, are probably much greater than the entire value of the now manufacturing States was at the commencement of these operations.

In the year 1839, according to the data appended to the United States census of 1840, there were in operation, in Maine, 29,736 cotton spindles; in New Hampshire, 195,173; in Massachusetts, 669,095; in Rhode Island, 518,817; in Connecticut, 181,319—making, in all, 1,590,140 cotton spindles in operation in those five States, at that time. Since that period, the number has been increased twenty per cent. at least, and there can, therefore, not be a less number now than about 2,000,000, nearly. The manufacture of cotton was commenced in Rhode Island about 1791, but its progress, for many years, was extremely slow. We will assume the year 1810 as our starting point, at which time it had begun to put on the appearance of some importance. Thus, reckoning to the close of 1849, we have a range of forty years.

Again, assuming that, in 1810, there were 50,000 spindles in operation, then the medium or average number for forty years would be something over 900,000. Distribute these in 90 mills of 10,000 spindles each, and each mill creating wealth at the rate of \$100,000 per annum, or, which is the same thing, adding that amount to the value of raw material, and which is nearly one-third less than the amount stated for the mill before alluded to, and we have \$4,000,000 in forty years. Hence, the ninety mills would add, and probably have added, at least \$360,000,000 of wealth, or capital, to the community, in forty years, by means of the combined operations of labor, skill and materials, aided by capital and credit. It is true, there have been fluctuations in the business and occasional failures, as there are, and ever will be, in the most lucrative business ever known. But most persons who have entered into this have made money by it; and, at any rate, failures or no failures, the wealth created by it is in the community—the product of labor, skill and materials—and if the foregoing estimates are within the limits of truth, and they are believed to be, then, by cotton manufactures alone, the above five States have added to the stock of wealth no less than \$360,000,000! Permit us now to inquire: have the whole ten cotton-planting States done as much by the culture of their staple production, or any thing like it, in proportion to the labor, skill, materials and capital, employed? Let the comparative estimates on the culture of cotton and its manufacture, in the foregoing pages, furnish the reply. Such, as has been stated, is the example set by New England, though commencing with a deficient capital even for her ordinary pursuits, with her system of credit to aid in the production of the most valuable returns from the labor, skill and real capital, of the country. Can any reason, even a plausible one, be given why southern people should not do the same? Their means are more abundant than were those of New

England at the commencement of the cotton-manufacturing business in this country. All that is wanted is enterprise. There certainly could be no sufficient reason why a number of planters, having available property of the value of half a million dollars, could not raise, on that property, the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand, to prosecute a business, the profits of which would be almost certain to return one hundred per cent. on the outlay, in the short space of two or three years at furthest. Especially might they do this when known, as known it is by practical experience, that that business would probably enhance the value of the property in possession fifty to one hundred per cent. Southern planters, considered men of wealth, find little or no difficulty in extending their credit to any desirable amount, in the purchase of land or slaves, or both. It would be quite as easy for them to do so, if necessary, to erect manufacturing factories, and their credit and funds would, in such case, be applied to an object much more productive.

But it is not only the benefit to be derived in a direct manner to the individual manufacturer, that holds out a strong inducement to the South to go largely into the business—nor yet, alone, the prospect of enriching a community as a body. Motives of philanthropy and humanity enter into the calculation, and these should not be disregarded. This is a subject on which, though it demands attention, we would speak with delicacy. It is not to be disguised, nor can it be successfully controverted, that a degree and extent of poverty and destitution exist in the southern States, among a certain class of people, almost unknown in the manufacturing districts of the North. The poor white man will endure the evils of pinching poverty, rather than engage in servile labor under the existing state of things, even were employment offered him, which is not general. The white female is not wanted at service, and if she were, she would, however humble in the scale of society, consider such service as a degree of degradation to which she could not descend; and she has, therefore, no resource, but to suffer the pangs of want and wretchedness. Boys and girls, by thousands, destitute both of employment and of the means of education, grow up to ignorance and poverty, and, too many of them, to vice and crime. This picture is no exaggeration; it is strictly true in all its details. The writer has no disposition to reproach the wealthy for the existence of such a state of things. He is well aware that it is the result of circumstances which have to them been unavoidable. But he cannot resist the conviction that, when a fitting opportunity presents itself to the wealthy men of the South to obviate those evils, at least in a degree, and that even in a way to benefit themselves, they can hardly be held guiltless in case of refusal or neglect to apply the remedy.

The writer knows, from personal acquaintance and observation, that poor southern persons, male and female, are glad to avail themselves of individual efforts to procure a comfortable livelihood in any employment deemed respectable for white persons. They make applications to cotton mills, where such persons are wanted, in numbers much beyond the demand for labor; and when admitted there, they soon assume the industrious habits and decency in dress and manners of the operatives in northern factories. A demand for labor in such establishments is all that is necessary to raise this class from want and beggary, and, too frequently, moral degradation, to a state of comfort, comparative independence, and moral and social respectability. Besides this, thousands of such would naturally come together as residents in manufacturing villages, where, with very little trouble and expense, they might receive a common-school education, instead of growing up in profound ignorance. I would, therefore, appeal to the planter of the South, as well as to every other capitalist. Let your attachment to your own interest and the interests of the community, united with love for your species, combine to stimulate you to enter, with resolution, this field of enterprise, and to cultivate it with the full determination not to be outdone. You must succeed.

In a political point of view, the extensive prosecution of the manufacturing business at the South is of vast moment. That the political ascendancy of the South, in the councils of the nation, has been neutralized, events plainly show. That it will be greatly overbalanced is a fact as certain as that the increase of population in the North, East and West, shall exceed that of the South. A reference to the official tables, to be sure, will show that, during the last thirty or forty years, the increase in the cotton-growing States exceeds, in some measure,

the ratio of that in the five manufacturing States which we have named; and they show an almost unprecedented increase in the new States of Alabama, Missouri, Mississippi and Louisiana. But, as respects the point alluded to, these tables are altogether deceptive. The creation of several new States has, to be sure, increased the number of southern votes in the United States Senate, by adding ten or twelve to the number, but then, there are, to offset against these, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, to say nothing of Maine, Ohio, Illinois, and others which will soon follow, so that the balance of power, even in the Senate, will be against the South. The rapid increase of population in the four cotton-growing States named, changes not the relative position of affairs, as to the popular representation in the lower house of Congress—or, at most, changes it in no material degree. Those States have all been settled by persons of other southern States; and scarce a family can be found in them, except here and there a trader in the country, or those in the commercial towns, but such as are emigrants from the Carolinas or other States of the South, or their descendants. Had therefore those States never been settled, the popular representative strength of the South would have been but little less than at present. But how is it with the four manufacturing States named? By the tables, their increase of population is less than that of the South, in proportion. But, if the real increase be the object in view, a large portion of it must be sought for in Ohio, Michigan, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the southern trading ports. But we take only the four States of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, for the comparison. The first of these States, Ohio, was originally settled almost exclusively by people from New England; and the present American-born citizens, now resident within her borders, are mostly New-England people or their descendants. Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, also received a large portion of their original settlers from the same source, together with, probably, a large number of the offshoots of New-England families in Ohio, or elsewhere in the western country. Let us see how the case now stands. The eight following, cotton-growing States, viz., North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Missouri, Mississippi, Alabama and Louisiana, contained (Mississippi in 1816), in 1810, a population of 1,637,093, including slaves. In the year 1840, the population of the same States amounted to 4,374,362—being an increase of 2,737,269—equal to a fraction less than one hundred and seventy-three per cent. At the former period, the six New-England States, after large drafts on their population to settle the new regions of the West, contained a population of 1,471,973. In 1840, with a tide of emigration still flowing westward, the population had increased to 2,245,822—being an increase of 762,849—equal to about fifty-two per cent. In 1810, the population of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana and Illinois, together, was 272,080, which, added to that of New England, made up an aggregate of 1,744,063. In 1840, those four northwestern States, had a population, in the aggregate, of 2,894,783, which, added to the population of the New England States at the same period, makes up the aggregate of 5,129,605; and the increase on the ten States being an aggregate increase in those States of 3,385,542—equal to one hundred and eighty-three per cent. on the population of 1810, and in the ratio of ten per cent. over that of the cotton-growing States. We have not sufficient data to enable us to include Arkansas, Florida and Texas, in this calculation, and therefore offset them against Iowa, Wisconsin, and other settlements made by northern people. From the foregoing statements it appears very evident, that the relative political strength of the South must continually decline; or rather, that that of the North will increase in the greatest ratio, until the South shall adopt some method besides that of agriculture to remedy the difficulty. But the case presents itself in a still stronger light, when we reflect, that at least thirty-three and one-third per cent. of the increase in southern population takes place with the slaves, and only two-fifths of which go to increase the representative power. The writer will hazard the assertion, that this state of things will never find a remedy, so long as the South persists in her present impolitic course of purchasing from abroad every manufactured article which she requires, from a penny jews-harp or a yard of shirting, to a steam engine. We have already shown conclusively, that to manufacture cotton is far more profitable than to produce it for sale. So is the manufacture of almost every other article. Of course, the business can afford better prices for labor and skill; and hence, where manufactures are found, there also these seek employment;

and thus is population increased over and above the increase by natural causes. We can further illustrate this fact by reference to the manufacturing States themselves.

In 1820, the State of Massachusetts contained 523,287 inhabitants. Manufactures had received a severe shock by the termination of the war with Great Britain, in 1814, though, at the above period, they had partially recovered from its effect. Little or no onward progress had, however, been made in the business, and cotton mills were few in number, and those of small capacity. During the succeeding period of ten years, the manufacturing business was commenced at Lowell, and some other places in the State, and made rapid advances, though it met with one severe revulsion in 1828 and '29. During these ten years, up to 1830, the population of the State had risen to 610,408—an increase of 86,121—equal to about sixteen and one-half per cent. But, as the business continued to increase, notwithstanding the disastrous crisis of 1836 and '37, the population of 1840 was 737,699—an increase of 127,291, or nearly twenty-one per cent. From the year 1820 to 1830, the population of Rhode Island increased fourteen per cent.; but from 1830 to '40, the increase was but about ten per cent. The cause of the difference between the ratios of increase in the last ten years named, in the two States, as far as manufactures were concerned, was owing to the fact, that the water power in Rhode Island had become so far exhausted, as to admit of but little extension of the business; while at Lowell, and many other situations in Massachusetts, the manufacturers were, as they still are, extending it on every hand. Besides, Massachusetts is a much larger and better field for agricultural pursuits than Rhode Island; and manufactories having so strong and direct a tendency to enhance the value of agricultural products in their vicinity, this alone helps very much to swell the mass of population. In fact, every interest in the State is promoted. Manufactories increase the demand for agricultural products, and every branch of mechanical industry; and both of which will, therefore, bear remunerating prices. They create a great deal of business for mechanical men and traders of all descriptions. They encourage, foster, and in a great measure pay for, public improvements. They increase the wealth of a community more rapidly than any other branch of business. And, though last not least, they prevent, in a great degree, the evils of extreme indigence and pauperism, by furnishing to all the means of supplying themselves with the comforts of life, through the medium of their own industrial efforts. Most certainly all these benefits are worthy of a trial, by the people of the South, to secure them. The South produces the raw material for the cotton mill in abundance. She has but to say the word, and labor and skill will as readily offer themselves to convert it into cloth on the spot, as ships do to transport it to New England, or to Europe. In the very nature of things, the South ought to become the greatest seat of cotton manufactures in the world.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

1. CULTURE OF TEA IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

WE publish with much pleasure the following letters from Mr. Junius Smith, to the Secretary of the State Agricultural Society, in reference to the interesting experiment now in progress in Greenville district:

GREENVILLE, S. C., Oct. 22, 1849.

DEAR SIR—Since my communication of the 27th December last, my labors have been uninterruptedly devoted to the cultivation of the tea plant in this district, and in extending and perfecting the means of ensuring regular supplies of tea seed and plants from the most celebrated tea plantations in China. After three years' trial and disappointment, I am happy to say, I have finally succeeded in establishing agencies which promise to be efficient. Considerable supplies of both seed and plants may be expected early in the spring. To ascertain the best mode of transporting seed and plants over waters 22,000 miles in extent, in addition to inland carriage in China of from 10 to 1500 miles, has claimed my earnest and most anxious attention.

Eight cases of tea nuts, received this month from Asia, were totally spoiled in transportation—not one sound nut in the whole lot. This I attribute entirely to a mistaken mode of packing. The nuts were originally, when shipped, of the first quality—fine, large, full grown and perfect. A parcel of tea nuts received, by the same conveyance, from my daughter, Mrs. Maddock, Missourie, Himalaya mountains, north-west Provinces of British India, came safe, and opened out beautifully bright and fresh. Not a single decayed nut to be noticed. She followed my instructions in the mode of packing with entire success. It is not to be expected that people in the interior of Asia, who have no experience in packing seeds and plants for foreign countries, can make a successful shipment at so great a distance. No person at home or abroad has been accustomed to a trade which never existed. I have the lesson to learn myself at considerable loss and expense; no body can teach me. The loss of eight cases of tea nuts proves the fallacy of trusting to mere guess work. I cannot instruct others, until I have taught myself. That requires time and patience. The loss of eight cases gives me no concern, whatever, seeing I am in the true practical way of learning my lesson. Three modes were adopted in making this shipment. Two, embracing almost the entire shipment, entirely failed—one only succeeded; that one is of some value.

A small quantity of teanuts, planted out in December last, failed to germinate, though fine, healthy nuts. Considering it had no covering or protection whatever, after planting, in consequence of my absence in New York, and a severe frosty winter to encounter, it would have been marvelous if it had vegetated. I planted out my sound nuts, received this month on the 15th instant, and shall give them my watchful care. Whether the same season of the year adapted to the planting of tea nuts in China, Java and India, will be equally favorable in this climate, remains to be proved. The fact that the tea plant buds and blossoms at the same time here as in Asia, is in favor of an identity of time in planting.

The tea seed, as generally denominated, is of the size and color of a hazle nut. An average sized nut equals, in weight, eight cotton seeds. The bulk of a full sized tea nut is, in circumference, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches, of a middle sized nut, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, average perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Like all nuts, it contains an oily kernel, covered with a shell, thicker than that of a cotton seed, but rather thinner than that of a hazle nut. The public mind is misled by calling it tea seed. It should be called *tea nut*, denoting more distinctly to those unacquainted with it its true character.

Many persons have written to me, from distant parts of the country, requesting me to forward to them a small quantity of *tea seed in a letter*, evidently deceived by its having been called tea seed, and ignorant of the size to which a letter would be swelled by such an inclosure. To avoid misconception on this point, and to convey a more just and definite idea, it may be well, perhaps, to call it by its correct name—a tea nut.

The tea plants set out last December have had a severe trial from the combined influence of heat, cold and drought. Nothing in the vegetable kingdom can be more delicate than a young tea sprout just shooting above ground. The rays of a burning sun, reflected from a sandy soil, burn off both leaf and stem of a young shoot just as if concentrated by a tent. During the long drought in August and September, about fifty-eight days, I lost twenty to thirty young plants by the heat and drought—showing the absolute necessity of an abundant supply of water for irrigation, and of well constructed shelters for shade during the heat of the day. Nothing but deep digging and deep planting, in this droughty soil, saved my plants. Watering and shading are beneficial, but unless one is peculiarly well provided with conveniences suited to the business, the labor becomes tedious and discouraging.

Not having the bamboo, extensively used in China and India, I have constructed a tripod in the form of a cone, and thatched it with grass, called in this part of the country broom sedge, equally efficient as a shelter against severe frost or heat, and just as easily put on and taken off, as a gentleman's hat. It is only during the very infancy of the tea plant that it requires these delicate attentions. As it gains strength and hardihood by age, it becomes proof against the severity of winter, and the scorching heats of summer.

The tea plants in my garden, although they have had to form both root and branch, have grown since April from six to eighteen inches.

The foliage and every twig is the growth of this season. Many of them are covered with blossom buds 20 in number, all pressing forward to their blossom. The first full blossom appeared on the 20th September. Other plants, both black and green, have continued, and now continue to follow. The tea plant blossoms in China and India in September and October. It is a pleasing feature to observe the appearance of the blossoms in this climate, at the same time. It is a peculiarity of the tea plant that it blossoms sparingly at one time, but continues to put out its blossoms until spring; and pods containing the ripe tea nut, may be gathered at the same time as the blossoms, in the autumn. The blossom is cream color, with a delicate fragrance like a weak violet. The petals inclosing the flower before its full blossom are six in number, and the blossom drops off in three or four days after it is fully developed. There is seldom more than two blossoms at the same time upon the same plant, but others follow soon after the loss of the first.

Your obedient servant,

JUNIUS SMITH.

GREENVILLE, S. C., November 7, 1849.

DEAR SIR: What was true when I wrote you on the 19th October in reference to the tea plant, is now an error. I remarked that there was seldom more than one blossom at a time upon my tea plants, and that I had not seen more than two. From that period to the present time, the number of blossoms has continued to increase, so that now several plants have each from six to twelve blossoms, such numbers opening at the same time, present the appearance of a hyacinth in full blossom. It appears, therefore, that not only the time of blossoming in this district corresponds with the time in China and India, but the manner also in which the blossoms appear, manifest an identity of climate and temperature, affording presumptive evidence that the tea nuts will mature here equally to the nature of the plant in foreign countries. So far as I can judge from the progress already made, the cool and frosty nights, the mild and balmy days, peculiar to this mountain district, are perfectly congenial to the health and vigorous growth of the tea plant. Considering that every branch, leaf and blossom, is the produce of this year's growth, I deem it prudent to shelter the plants when appearances indicate a frost at night, otherwise they remain without shelter, and I trust another year they will not require any, whatever the weather may be.

Yours truly,

JUNIUS SMITH.

2. PRESENT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF GREAT BRITAIN RELATIVE TO THE SUPPLY AND CONSUMPTION OF COTTON.

In our April number, we published the conclusion of an able paper which appeared in the London Economist, with the above title. As it is of the greatest interest to the whole southern country, we insert the first part of the paper:

"At a time when the condition and prospects of the working classes of this country are, fortunately alike for the credit of the age, the future safety of our institutions, and the peace and welfare of the nation, attracting so much attention it cannot but be of the highest interest and importance, whether viewed in a social, a political, or a commercial light, that a clear, broad and enlarged inquiry should be instituted into the present position and future prospects of the supply of that raw material, upon which by far the greatest numbers are dependent in our great manufacturing community. The recent rapid changes in the price of cotton, seem to force this subject more strongly upon us. Lancashire contains a population now little, if anything, short of 2,000,000, who may be said to be directly or indirectly interested in, and dependent upon, this great article of industry. The West Riding of Yorkshire contains a population of nearly 1,400,000, of whom a large number are also interested in the same industry, either directly in itself, or as intermixed with the woolen trade. Lanarkshire contains a population of more than 500,000, whose chief dependence is the various branches of the cotton trade. In round figures, therefore, leaving out Cheshire and other isolated places, there are in those districts a population of no less than 4,000,000, the great bulk of whom are, directly or indirectly, chiefly interested in this trade. In those districts, too, the greatest demand exists for taste, talent and ability, connected with all the arts and all the sciences. There, too, is the greatest demand for that class of literature which affords employment to the greatest number of writers. Dependent upon these districts

is our chief navigation, our commerce abroad, our trade at home. They exert, according to their condition, a greater influence than any other districts upon the general revenue of the state. Emphatically, the future supply of cotton is "a condition-of-England question." Need we urge any other excuse for the length at which we now deem it our duty to examine it?

"The quarters whence Great Britain draws her supply of raw cotton may be classed under five divisions: North America, Brazil, Egypt, India and miscellaneous countries, chiefly our own colonies. On the increase of production in these lands, and on the proportion of that increase which is sent to this country, depends our capability of extending our cotton manufacture, or even of maintaining it at its present level. Let us therefore consider each of these sources of supply in turn, that we may be able to form a fair estimate of our expectations from each. North America, as the most important, we will leave to the last.

"BRAZIL is the chief source whence we draw our supply of long-stapled cottons. Brazil has sent us as follows:

	<i>In five years.</i>	<i>Per an.</i>
1830—1834, inclusive,.....	744,784	148,977
1835—1839, ".....	643,438	128,687
1840—1844, ".....	471,226	94,245
1845—1849, ".....	495,685	99,137

"In this and the succeeding tables, the imports for 1849 have been found by adding to the *known* imports for the first ten months, the quantity we have yet reason to expect, or that which ordinarily arrives in November and December.

"From Brazil, therefore, our annual supply has diminished nearly 50,000 bales; or if we compare the two extreme years of the series, 1830 and 1848, the falling off is from 192,267 bales to 100,244, or 92,000 bales.

"EGYPT.—Our Egyptian supply, which is long stapled cotton, has ranged as follows:

	<i>In five years.</i>	<i>Per an.</i>
1830—1834, inclusive,.....	99,899	19,899
1835—1839, ".....	173,031	34,605
1840—1844, ".....	207,913	41,583
1845—1849, ".....	224,859	44,918

"The supply from Egypt, however, seems to have reached its maximum in 1845, in which year we received 81,344 bales. This year it does not reach half that amount. Moreover, this country, from the peculiar circumstances of its government, is little to be relied upon—the supply having varied from 40,290 bales in 1832, to 2,569 bales in 1833; and again, from 18,245 bales in 1842, to 66,000 bales in 1844.

"From other quarters, chiefly the West Indies, the supply has been:

	<i>In five years.</i>	<i>Per an.</i>
1830—1834, inclusive,.....	68,873	13,775
1835—1839, ".....	161,369	32,274
1840—1844, ".....	117,887	23,577
1845—1849, ".....	44,833	8,966

"EAST INDIES.—Our supply from this quarter varies enormously, from 90,000 to 270,000 bales per annum, inasmuch as we only receive that proportion of the crop which our prices may divert from China or from internal consumption. Our imports thence have been as follows:

	<i>In five years.</i>	<i>Per an.</i>
1830—1834, inclusive,.....	403,976	80,795
1835—1839, ".....	723,263	144,653
1840—1844, ".....	1,167,294	233,469
1845—1849, ".....	899,213	179,802

"The summary of our supply from all these quarters combined, is:

	<i>In five years.</i>	<i>Per an.</i>
1830—1834, inclusive,.....	1,317,632	263,526
1835—1839, ".....	1,701,101	340,220
1840—1844, ".....	1,964,320	392,864
1845—1849, ".....	1,664,310	332,862

"The result of this inquiry, then, is, that our average annual supply from all quarters, except the United States, was, in the five years ending 1849, less by

7,358 bales than in the five years ending 1839, and less by 60,000 bales than in the five years ending 1844. Of this diminished supply, moreover, we have been exporting an increasing quantity, viz., 396,000 bales in the last five years, against 342,000 bales the previous five years.

"UNITED STATES.—We may now turn our attention to our last and main source of supply, America, which has sent us :

	<i>In five years.</i>	<i>Per an.</i>
1830—1834, inclusive,.....	3,241,958	648,391
1835—1839, ".....	4,308,610	861,722
1840—1844, ".....	5,802,829	1,160,566
1845—1849, ".....	6,189,144	1,237,619

"The last five years, it should be observed, include the three largest crops ever known, one very deficient, and one rather so.

"It is a known and admitted fact among those conversant with these matters, that a price of 4d pound laid down in Liverpool, leaves sufficient profit to the American planter to induce him to grow as much cotton as his negroes can gather ; and that, therefore, as the average price has scarcely ever ranged so low as this for any great number of weeks, the *possible* increase of the crop of cotton will keep pace with the *actual* increase of the negro population, and cannot do more. Now the negroes increase at a very regular rate of three per cent. per annum. If, therefore, these premises be correct, it will follow that the cotton crop of each year will surpass that of each preceding year of *equally favorable conditions* (i. e., as to good planting and picking weather, late frosts, freedom from worms, inundations, &c.) by three per cent. Accordingly, we find this to have been pretty closely the case, as the following tables will show. The years 1840, 1843, and 1845, were favorable years for the growth and gathering of cotton. Let us see what crop, each of these years, calculated on the above bases (three per cent. yearly increase), would give for 1849, also a favorable year :

	<i>Actual crop.</i>	<i>No. years.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Est. crop, 1849.</i>
1840,.....	2,178,000	9	27	2,866,000
1843,.....	2,379,000	6	18	2,807,220
1845,.....	2,394,000	4	12	2,681,280

Average,..... 2,784,833

Actual crop,..... 2,730,000

"From the following table it will be seen that, assuming the year 1838 as a starting point, the average increase of the American crop for the last twelve years has not quite reached three cent.; and in fact whereon for a short series of years this rate has been exceeded, it has been attributable simply to an unusual run of favorable seasons :

<i>Years.</i>	<i>What the crop would have been with no extraordinary casualties, and increasing at the rate of 3 per cent. yearly.</i>	<i>Actual crop.</i>
1837—1838,.....		1,801,500
1838—1839,.....	1,856,500	1,360,050
1839—1840,.....	1,911,200	2,178,000
1840—1841,.....	1,968,500	1,635,000
1841—1842,.....	2,027,500	1,683,500
1842—1843,.....	2,088,300	2,379,000
1843—1844,.....	2,151,000	2,030,500
1844—1845,.....	2,215,000	2,304,500
1845—1846,.....	2,282,008	2,100,500
1846—1847,.....	2,350,500	1,788,500
1847—1848,.....	2,420,000	2,347,500
1848—1849,.....	2,493,000	2,728,500
1849—1850,.....	2,568,300	2,350,000 est.
Average,.....	2,194,400	2,080,500

"It is clear, then, that we shall be sufficiently near the mark for any practical conclusions if we assume the average increase of the American cotton crop at three per cent. per annum, barring any *unusual* freedom from, or occurrence of, disasters, such as sometimes happen. Let us now inquire what proportion of this increase will fall to our share.

"The consumption of the United States itself has been steadily on the advance, and now increases at an average annual rate of about 35,000 bales. It is now about 520,000 bales yearly. That of the continent now reaches (of Ameri-

two years before. The import exceeded 80,000 bales in 1845; the average of the last three years has not been a third of that quantity. Cotton has always been grown largely in Hindoostan, but it did not send much to England till about thirty years ago. In the five years ending 1824 the yearly average import was 33,500, in 1841 it reached 274,000, and may now be roughly estimated at 200,000 bales a year.

"Now what is the reason why these countries, after having at one time produced so largely and so well, should have ceased or curtailed their growth within recent years? It is clearly a question of price. Let us consider a few of the cases:

At the close of the years

1836—1839 inclusive.—Lowest price of Pernambuco.....	6½
1840—1843 " " " "	7
1844—1848 " " " "	5¾
Fall per cent.....	36
1836—1839 inclusive.—Lowest price of Maranhão.....	8¼
1840—1843 " " " "	5½
1844—1848 " " " "	4¾
Fall per cent.....	42
1836—1839 inclusive.—Lowest price of Egyptian.....	10¼
1840—1843 " " " "	7
1844—1848 " " " "	5¾
Fall per cent.....	43
1836—1839 inclusive.—Lowest price of Surat.....	4½
1840—1843 " " " "	5½
1844—1848 " " " "	2¾
Fall per cent.....	40

"Here, surely, may be read the explanation of the deplorable falling off in our miscellaneous supply. From the four years ending 1839—when the great stimulus was given which procured us so ample a supply during the succeeding period—to the quinquennial period ending 1848, there has been a fall in price, on an average, of 40 per cent. Unless, therefore, we assume either an enormous margin of profit in the earlier period, or an extreme diminution in the cost of producing the article of late years, such a fall in price would be quite sufficient to direct capital and industry into other channels, and to prevent so bulky an article as cotton from being grown or forwarded.

"In both Brazil and India, freight and carriage form an inordinate proportion of the price of cotton. In both countries the bales are carried great distances on the backs of mules or other beasts of burden. The deficiency of good roads, convenient vehicles, and safely navigable rivers, in the cotton districts of both countries, swells the expense of bringing the bales to the shipping ports to such an extent, that when prices are low in England, the ultimate net remittance to the planter is quite insufficient to repay the cost of growing, picking and packing. In some years the price of much of the Surat cotton sent to this country was so low as only to remit *one penny* a pound to the shipper at Bombay; and by the time this reached the actual grower, it had probably dwindled away, through the expenses of carriage, to a sum inadequate even to pay the government rent. Our supply from both these countries will depend entirely upon price. In Brazil, where we believe the sugar cultivation is less profitable than formerly, a range of prices 50 per cent. higher than those of the last few years would probably induce the planters to increase their cotton grounds, and would repay them for so doing. In regard to the East Indies, where large quantities are always grown, our supply thence depends upon two things—first, the demand of China, which is usually supplied before Great Britain; and, secondly, on the question whether the net price at Bombay or Madras will pay for picking, cleaning, packing and transporting to the coast. Under the stimulus of high prices (such as prevail at this moment), large quantities would, we doubt not, be sent forward; and the price that will be requisite to secure such large supplies will diminish as the means of carriage are increased and cheapened. If the prices of the last five years continue, we believe there can be no doubt that the supply will inevitably continue to fall off.

"We do not participate in the sanguine expectations which many parties entertain, that even with higher prices the quantity and quality of East India cotton sent to this country can progress so rapidly as to render us at all independent of the American supply. For, in the first place, the absence of good roads or navigable rivers in the cotton districts, the length of time and expendi-

ture of capital needed before the want of those can be supplied by the establishment of railroads, and the languid and unenterprising character of the people, must necessarily cause any material increase of supply (at least over 250,000 bales per annum), to be a matter of very slow and costly operation. And in the second place, the *quality* of the cotton grown in India is peculiar; and this peculiarity is still traceable, though in a modified degree, in whatever locality, and from whatever seed the plant is grown, even in the best specimens (improved as they unquestionably are) which have of late been sent to this country; and this peculiarity will always, we fear, prevent it from being substitutable for American cotton, except to a very limited extent.

"Our hopes lie in a very different direction; we look to our West Indian, African and Australian colonies, as the quarters from which, would government only afford every *possible* facility (we ask and wish for no more), we might, ere long, draw such a supply of cotton as would, to say the least, make the fluctuations of the American crop, and the varying proportion of it which falls to our share, of far less consequence to our prosperity than they now are.

"The West Indies, as we have already seen, used to send us, sixty years ago, about 40,000 bales, or three-fourths of our then supply. But the enormous profits realized on the growth of sugar, partly caused, and much prolonged, by our prohibitory duties on all competing sugars, directed the attention of the colonists exclusively in that direction. As in the analogous case of protected wheat in this country, other cultivation was gradually abandoned in favor of a single article; the cane was grown in soils and localities unfit for it, and into which nothing but the protective system could have forced it; and cotton was altogether neglected. Many parts of the West Indies, St. Vincent, especially, which are worst adapted for the cane, are the best adapted for the cotton plant, which flourishes in light and dry soils, and especially near the sea coast. The artificial stimulus which our mistaken policy so long applied to sugar cultivation, having been withdrawn, it must be abandoned in all unsuitable localities; and would be well replaced by cotton. What price would be required to repay its culture there, we cannot say; but considering at how small a cost it might be placed on ship-board in all these colonies, and how large a portion this item generally forms of the whole expense of production, we cannot see why cotton should not be grown in the Antillies as cheaply as in the United States, if only the negroes can be relied upon for steady and continuous labor during the picking season. Now the price of West Indian cotton ranges higher than that of the bulk of the American crop, as being longer in staple. Our belief is, that were the attention of our planters once more energetically directed to this article, they might soon send us a regular supply of 100,000 bales per annum, and thus find a use for many estates that must otherwise be abandoned."

[From the Washington Republic.

3. "THE COTTON OF THE UNITED STATES.

"MESSRS. EDITORS.—My attention has been frequently called to this subject of late, and I verily believe that an essay, or rather treatise, upon the cotton of the United States, would be one of the most valuable that could be given to the public. I would first consider the peculiarity of the plant in the latitudes in which we cultivate it, the difference between it and that which is produced in other parts of the world, the demand and production, the possible competition, and all the ramified topics connected with this fruitful theme.

"The upland cotton region in the United States may be said to lie between 30° and 35° of north latitude, extending, in length from east to west, from southern Virginia to the Rio Grande. Its first and most striking characteristic within these bounds is, that it is an annual growth, and bears an annual crop, like wheat or corn. There is the regular season of growth, flower, fruit (if I may use this expression) and decay. It is supplied with regular rains, and its growth, in due time, is arrested by frost. The sap of the plant, instead of being employed in the formation of leaf and woody fiber, is expended in the production of its pods and seeds. Instead of aspiring to the character of a tree, the whole cotton field presents a uniform appearance, the plant seldom exceeding six feet in height, with numerous lateral branches. The crop is also uniform in appearance, and staple, and is nearly all ready to be gathered about the same period. It is, besides, a beautiful plant. The cotton field in blossom is highly

ornamental ; and the snow-white appearance when the bowls are opened is, if possible, still more so. The yield is more abundant in consequence of the medium size of the plant, the circumstance of its vigor being exhausted in the production of its fruit, while the uniformity, strength and firmness of the staple is precisely that which peculiarly fits it for ninety-nine hundredths of the cotton fabrics entering into the ordinary use and consumption. To show how much the fruit is influenced by climate and locality, I may cite the well known fact, that the upland cotton seed, when carried to the sea coast, and to the south of latitude 30° , changes, in two years' time, to the black seed and long staple, and so *vice versa*.

"South of latitude 30° , there is a continual effort of nature to form wood, leaves and blossoms, at the expense of the fruit ; and beyond the region of frost, it gradually becomes a perennial, sometimes a tree—of course, a thin bearer, its staple irregular, silky and weak ; perhaps better adapted to some delicate fabrics, and comparatively limited consumption. For this reason, the American upland cotton need fear no rival within the tropics, either in the West Indies, the Brazils or India. It is true that Egypt lies north of 30° , but that part of Africa being on the western side of that hemisphere, the climate corresponds with 20° on the eastern side. It seems now to be admitted, that, from the peculiarity of climate and position, there is no country on the globe that can rival or supersede the United States in this invaluable production, unless it be the British possessions in Australia ; and the distance is too great, if the same article could be produced, to transport it to the European market, in preference to other articles produced in those countries. It seems to be the peculiar gift of Providence to our favored land.

"At one time there was thought to be danger of over-production ; but recent statistics prove that the danger lies in the deficiency of the supply, and hence the steady rise in price. As to the increase of production, it cannot be as rapid as heretofore ; the easily cultivated uplands of cotton States having been pretty generally occupied, and a large portion of them worn out. But there are still large bodies of low land west of the Mississippi, Red river, &c., capable of being brought into cultivation. Cotton, at twelve cents, is a better crop than sugar at six ; and, consequently, the rise in price will tend to check the establishment of sugar plantations. Nothing can surpass the comforts and advantages of a well-regulated cotton plantation in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The labor is light, healthy, and does not occupy the time so entirely as to prevent the planter from raising an abundance of provisions for the sustenance of his people, and even for providing them clothing. The planter generally lives in the midst of his people, and sees to all their wants ; and whatever may be said or thought by those who are not personally acquainted with their situation, they are a happy and contented race, with strong mutual attachments between them and the master's family.

"I do not mean to pursue the subject further, although I believe it would not be difficult to write a volume, if I were to view it in all its bearings.

"H. M. BRACKENRIDGE."

4. SUGAR PRODUCT OF NORTH-WEST LOUISIANA.

This interesting region which is conceived by the best judges eminently fitted for the production of sugar, and which is already somewhat largely entered upon this business, promises in the future to give the largest results in this industry. The planters, having been so long unfortunate in cotton, are now turning their attention, almost universally, to this product. We note that the editor of the *Alexandria Democrat* announces his intention to prepare a series of papers, describing the sugar estates already in the parish, and other minutiae statistical in regard to them and their prospects. We shall be most happy to republish, in the Review, this series, and any other facts which may be communicated to us by the citizens of that quarter. For the present, we cannot do better than extract from the remarks of the *Democrat* :

"We can see no good reason why Rapides is not entitled to as much consideration abroad as our sister parishes below. True, as regards cane culture, she is in her infancy, but that infancy is fast ripening into mature manhood. The almost incessant floods of the Mississippi, and the numerous crevasses made in consequence, have induced or compelled many planters to abandon their lands,

and look for homes elsewhere. Before the overflow of August last, our parish was attracting very general attention, as being admirably adapted to the successful culture of cane, and almost every steamer brought to our shores strangers to examine our unrivaled soil and great natural resources for the planting interest. The unfortunate event alluded to blasted, for a time, bright prospects for the future. So prone is the human mind to deal in generalities—to reverse a rule of logic, making the lesser include the greater—that those who contemplated removing here, thus swelling the aggregate wealth and population of the parish, were deterred, from an erroneous idea that a dove could not find a resting place within our broad domains. Having but an imperfect knowledge of the divisions of our parish, they took it for granted that all portions shared the fate of the Cities of the Plain.

"The sketches we propose to give will place this matter in a proper light. It will be shown that the loss sustained by sugar planters from the overflow was inconsiderable—that the general yield was satisfactory—and that the comparatively small amount of cane overflowed, yielded, on many places, an average quantity of sugar to the acre. Such facts, it is believed, will have a salutary effect abroad, enhancing the credit of the parish and the value of our lands, and bringing among us, in all probability, men of solid wealth, intelligence, and sound practical knowledge.

INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

1. STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

TABLE SHOWING THE ESTIMATED SURFACE OF THE TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES, NORTH AND WEST OF THE REGULARLY ORGANIZED STATES OF THE UNION, AND THE PORTIONS OF TERRITORY THEREOF, SITUATED NORTH AND SOUTH OF THE PARALLEL OF 30° 30' NORTH LATITUDE.

TERRITORIES.	Square miles north of the par- allel of 30° 30'.	Square miles south of the par- allel of 30° 30'.	Total square miles.
Oregon Territory, bounded on the north by the parallel of 49° north latitude, south by the parallel of 42° north latitude, east by the Rocky mountains, and west by the Pacific ocean,.....	341,463	.....	341,463
Territory north and west of the Mississippi river, bounded on the north by the parallel of 49° north latitude, east by the Mississippi river, south by the State of Iowa and the Platte river, and west by the Rocky mountains,	723,248	.....	723,248
Wisconsin territory, bounded east by the Mississippi river and north by the State of Wisconsin, being the balance remaining of the old Northwest Territory,	22,336	.....	22,336
Indian territory, situated west of the States of Missouri and Arkansas, and south of the Platte or Nebraska river, held and apportioned in part for Indian purposes,	190,505	58,346	238,851
Territory in upper California and New Mexico,* situated west of the Rio Grande to its source, and of a meridian line thence to the parallel of 42° north latitude, ceded to the United States by the treaty with Mexico of 1848,	321,695	204,383	526,078
Total,	1,599,247	262,729	1,861,976
That part of Texas which lies east of the Rio Grande and west of the Necees river, from the mouth of the former river up to a line drawn from a point a short distance north of Paso to the source of the Ensenada river, is estimated at, .....	.....	52,018	52,018
And the part which lies north of Paso and the Ensenada river, up to latitude of 42° north,	43,537	81,396	124,933
Making, together, †	43,537	133,414	176,951

* This estimate excludes all that part of Texas which lies outside of its limits, as designated by the yellow shaded lines on Disturnell's map of Mexico.

† This estimate, as will be seen, limits our acquisitions of territory from Mexico by the late treaty, exclusively to those portions of country lying west of the Rio Grande.

TEXAS IN THREE DIVISIONS.

	<i>Sq. miles.</i>
1st. Between the Sabine and Nueces rivers, south of Ensenada river (T. proper),.....	148,460
2d. Between the Nueces and Rio Grande, south of Ensenada river,	52,018
3d. North of Paso and the Ensenada river (Santa Fe country),	124,933
Total,.....	325,520
1st. Number of miles of coast acquired by the annexation of Texas, from the mouth of the Sabine to the Rio Grande,	400
2d. Number of miles of coast on the Pacific, including Oregon and California. In California, 970; Oregon, 500; Straits of Juan de Fuca, 150,	1,620
Total, including Texas,	2,020

TABLE EXHIBITING THE AREAS OF THE SEVERAL STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES IN SQUARE MILES AND ACRES.

FREE STATES.	<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	SLAVE STATES.	<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Maine,	35,000	22,400,000	Delaware,.....	2,120	1,356,800
Vermont,	8,000	5,120,000	Maryland,	11,000	7,040,000
New Hampshire,	8,000	5,139,200	Virginia,	61,352	39,265,280
Massachusetts,	7,250	4,640,000	North Carolina,.....	45,500	29,120,000
Rhode Island,.....	1,200	768,000	South Carolina,.....	28,000	17,920,000
Connecticut,	4,750	3,040,000	Georgia,	58,000	37,120,000
New York,	46,000	29,440,000	Kentucky,	37,680	24,115,200
New Jersey,.....	6,851	4,384,640	Tennessee,	44,000	28,160,000
Pennsylvania,.....	47,000	30,080,000	Louisiana,	46,431	29,715,840
Ohio,	39,964	25,576,960	Mississippi,	47,147	30,174,080
Indiana,	33,809	21,637,760	Alabama,	50,722	32,462,080
Illinois,.....	55,405	35,459,200	Missouri,	67,380	43,123,200
Michigan,.....	56,243	35,995,520	Arkansas,.....	52,198	33,406,720
Iowa,.....	50,914	32,584,960	Florida,.....	59,268	37,931,520
Wisconsin,	53,924	34,511,360			
Total of the free States, <i>a</i> 454,340		290,777,600	Total of the slave States, <i>b</i> 610,798		390,910,720
Texas,.....				325,520	208,332,800
District of Columbia,.....				<i>c</i> 50	32,000

TERRITORY NORTH AND WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER AND EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

	<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Bounded north by 49° north latitude, east by Mississippi river, south by State of Iowa and Platte river, and west by Rocky mountains,.....	723,248	462,878,720
Indian territory, situated west of the States of Arkansas and Missouri, and south of the Platte river,.....	248,851	159,264,640
Old Northwest territory, balance remaining east of the Mississippi river and north of Wisconsin,.....	22,336	14,295,040
Total of old territory and organized into States,.....	<i>d</i> 994,435	636,438,400

TERRITORY EXCLUSIVE OF OLD TERRITORY EAST OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

	<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>	<i>Sq. miles.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Oregon,.....	341,463	218,536,320	<i>a</i> 454,340	290,777,600
California,.....	448,691	287,162,240	<i>b</i> 610,798	390,910,720
New Mexico,*.....	77,387	49,527,680	<i>c</i> 50	32,000
Texas,*.....	325,520	208,332,800	<i>d</i> 994,435	636,438,400
Total,.....	1,193,061	763,559,040	2,059,623	1,318,158,720

Length of the Atlantic coast to the mouth of St. Mary's river,	1,450 miles.
Length of the Atlantic coast from St. Mary's to cape of Florida,	450 "
Length of the Gulf coast to the mouth of Sabine,	1,200 "
Total,	2,100 "

The new States are larger than some of the old ones.

Missouri is the largest State at present, except Texas, which is to be divided into four States.

The area of the State of California, according to an estimate made on Preuss's map of 1848, is 158,500 square miles.

* Taking the Rio Grande as the boundary.

ESTIMATED SURFACES OF OTHER STATES.

		<i>Sq. miles.</i>
California is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ times larger than Louisiana,	.....	46,431
" " $2\frac{1}{2}$ " " Missouri,	.....	67,380
" " $4\frac{1}{4}$ " " Kentucky,	.....	57,680
" " $2\frac{1}{2}$ " " Virginia,	.....	61,352
" " $3\frac{1}{2}$ " " New York,	.....	46,000
" " $3\frac{1}{2}$ " " Pennsylvania,	.....	47,000

The average distance of the sea coast from the eastern boundary of the new State of

California, is,	.....	212 miles.
Total length from north to south,	.....	764 "
Length of sea coast,	.....	970 "

The surface of Deseret, estimated on Preuss's map, is as follows :

	<i>Sq. miles.</i>
Part situated in Oregon,	20,000
" " California territory,	340,000
" within proposed limits of State of California,	70,000
Total,	430,270

2. THE BAYOU MANCHAC AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

IBERVILLE, NEW RIVER, March, 1850.

DEAR SIR—In the February number of your Review, I notice a communication from Mr. Albert Stein, on "Improvements of the Mississippi," in the next to the last paragraph of which, there is so outrageous an error stated, that I cannot refrain from correcting it. Your Review is too widely circulated, to allow such an error to pass without correcting. Indeed, Mr. Stein's character as an engineer is too highly appreciated to admit of it. The paragraph is as follows: "But, better far than the construction of extensive lateral outlets, at vast expense, would be the re-opening of the bayou Manchac. This having once been a natural issue or branch of the Mississippi, would form a better safety valve for the escape of the surplus water in time of flood, than all artificial ones that may be suggested or undertaken."

Now, this bayou never was fairly open to the Mississippi; and, if it had been, it would have inundated the whole island, of course including the city of New Orleans. The Mississippi flowed past it, and threw into it some water from an eddy. The bayou, in its whole length, is only about eighteen miles long, from the Mississippi to where it empties into the river Amite; and it flows into that river in rather an *up stream* direction with the Mississippi. Where are Mr. Stein's confluent streams? Is there any confluency between the streams of the Mississippi and bayou Manchac? Seven or eight miles of the bayou, from the Mississippi down, are always dry at low stages of water, in both the Mississippi and Amite. The lower part is, at all times, navigable for small craft; and the water flows up and down it as the Amite rises and falls. This bayou is the general drain of about one-half of the parish of east Baton Rouge, of all Iberville on the same side and of forty or fifty thousand acres of land in the parish of Ascension; for, strange as it may appear, our drainage runs in a direction up stream of the Mississippi. From this bayou to lake Maurepas, the country is overspread with slashes, lagoons, and small bayous, and a small part only of land susceptible of cultivation. Between the Mississippi and the Amite, on the bayou Manchac, there is a deep swamp, a part of which, called the Big swamp, or Devil's swamp, is at times twenty feet deep in water. But our State engineer has examined this bayou, and, I understand, has made a correct report respecting it. The legislature is in session very near it, and each member has had an opportunity of examining it personally; and, as my object is not to write an essay, but merely to correct an error proceeding from a dangerous source, I shall conclude with only adding, that *all the lands* between the bayou and New Orleans are *lower* than the land on the river at the mouth of the bayou, and that *water always seeks its level*.

Your humble servant,

PHILIP WINFREE.

3. RAILROADS IN MISSOURI.

THE GROWTH, PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS OF ST. LOUIS.

Thomas Allen has presented an address to the directors of the Pacific railroad company, which has been chartered at St. Louis, with the view of a present

western extension to the State line, if possible, and eventually onward in the direction of California. Mr. Allen's address is a very interesting one, and we extract those parts which relate especially to the city of St. Louis and its destinies:

"Geographically, we occupy a central position, and possess the great advantage of being at the convergence of several navigable water courses of magnificent extent, and incalculable value and importance. Nature has done much for us; and it is precisely because she has done so much, that we have not felt the necessity of doing anything for ourselves, while our neighbors, at the north and at the south of us, are making the greatest exertions to triumph over nature, and to obtain by art those advantages which nature denied them. At the same time, it is not to be denied that our relations to the navigable rivers constitute our chief natural advantages. The great majority of emigrants, farmers of small means, from the eastern States, desiring to settle in the West, not desiring to compete with slave labor, direct their steps to the north of us, while the emigrating planter, with his negroes, seeking a western home, turns his course, for the greater security of his slave property, to the south of us. Of the foreign emigration, our city has, it is true, received a very large share, and she has from that and other causes, chiefly commercial, prospered in an unexampled degree, while the interior of the State has also increased in population, but not with the same rapidity. For example, while St. Louis nearly doubled her population in four years, the counties bordering upon the Missouri river increased but about a third in the same time. But it is to be remembered that it is not alone with the interior of Missouri that St. Louis finds a profitable traffic. Divert the trade of the upper Mississippi and of the Illinois from her, and the consequences would be felt to be of serious weight. Her commercial prosperity is founded very largely, if not chiefly, upon what is called the 'produce trade.' In this trade the productions of Illinois and Iowa, and even of Wisconsin, are extensively mingled with those of Missouri. In the past year, 1849, the number of steamboat arrivals from the upper Mississippi were 806—from the Illinois river they were 686, while from the Missouri river they were but 355. The numerous barges, keels, flat and canal boats which arrive here, come chiefly from the upper Mississippi and the Illinois. It is evident, therefore, that St. Louis traffic is more with other States than with our own. To the great productive capabilities of the country north of us, the inhabitants apply superior industry and energy. Time, in developing their resources and increasing their wealth and population, has also brought to them the disposition and perhaps the means to increase their facilities of intercourse, and to extend the range of their market. Hence we see them devising schemes of railroads to connect them with the lakes, and with the great chain of railroads which are penetrating the West from the Atlantic cities. We see railroads projected from Chicago to Cairo, from Springfield to Quincy, from Springfield to Terre Haute, from Peoria to Oquawka, from Galena to Chicago, from Alton to Springfield, Illinois, and from St. Joseph to Hannibal, in our own State, the cost of survey in the latter case paid for by the State—all of them, but the first mentioned, commended to the public as probable links in the great chain which is to connect the Atlantic and Pacific. On the south of us we see projected and chartered the Missouri and White river railroad, and the Missouri and Mississippi river railroad; railroads in Tennessee, reaching to the Mississippi, while our countrymen of the extreme south, aided and backed by the topographical corps of the United States, are urging forward a railroad by the Gila route, to the Pacific at San Diego, which should have a terminus upon the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio. While these movements are going on around us, St. Louis is doing nothing, and proposing to do nothing, but relying confidently upon the centrality of her position, her large capital and advanced growth, and her great 'produce trade.' Those who sought a friendly alliance with her in the east, and proposed to increase the facilities of intercourse by a railroad pointing directly to her, have been denied the right of way, and our neighborly city of Alton even prohibited the Springfield and Alton railroad from touching the river bank, lest a long ferryage should give St. Louis the benefits which she hopes to appropriate exclusively to herself! What, then, with these schemes around us, against us, and avoiding us, is it, if any thing, expedient for us to do? Can we do any thing? Is it possible for us to devise a scheme which shall, by its tendency to increase the settlement of the

interior of our State, to increase our own traffic, to introduce new and different sources of wealth, place our prosperity upon a broader and surer basis? Can we, by any process, put ourselves in a position which shall compel our enemies to inquire, not how they shall best avoid us, but how they can best get to us? which shall increase our own production, our own consumption, and invite new and lasting ties of commercial and social intercourse.

"If, with the increase of trade and traders, the industrial arts and artisans be also multiplied, would not the mutual dependence of the two classes go far toward placing business upon a stable foundation? Suppose we were to cheapen and facilitate transportation, bring the raw materials cheaply and conveniently to the hands of art, to be worked into infinite forms in our midst, give animation to business during the whole season, uninterrupted by winter, would not our market become more brisk and extensive, our means of supply increase; superior men be attracted and engaged in every department, and should we not be doing much to make St. Louis the manufactory and machine shop, as well as the emporium and metropolis of the Mississippi valley? Nature has endowed States as well as individuals, with various gifts. Else commerce would not have existed. If another State excels us in agricultural resources, we perhaps excel her in our mineral resources. One State may produce cotton and sugar—we produce hemp and tobacco. Wheat may be the staple of one—corn and pork may be that of another. One people may excel another in a particular handicraft. But no one State can either produce everything or manufacture everything. But inasmuch as great diversity enters into the consumption of every people, commerce, by which they exchange the surplus of one kind of their productions, for another kind which they need, which forms part of the surplus products of another people, becomes absolutely necessary. And just in proportion as we increase the diversity, the quality, the quantity, and the cheapness of our surplus productions, whether of the soil or of the factory, shall we invite, secure and extend our intercourse with other States and people.

"What of these results, if any, should we obtain by a railroad to the West?

"What lies to the west of us, within the reach of any railroad we might be able to construct? There are extensive beds of iron ore, of copper, of lead, and of bituminous and cannel coal, and doubtless undiscovered minerals of other kinds. There are fine forests of timber; there are fertile lands for tillage, and for grazing. There lies the route of the immense emigration to the great plains, to the land of Deseret, and to California. There goes the trail of the Santa Fe trader, and the fur and Indian trader. There go the Indian agencies and annuities, and government stores, munitions and troops. There, upon the borders of the Missouri river, lie the most populous counties of the State, embracing at least, one-fourth of the whole people of the State. Here is St. Louis; there is Franklin and Gasconade, and Calloway, and Osage and Cole, and Cooper, and Howard, and Boone, and Lafayette, and Moniteau, and Saline, and Jackson, and Cass, and Ray, and Clay, and Platte and Buchanan, containing in the aggregate with Chariton and Carroll, not far from 250,000 people, and not less than 175,000 independently of St. Louis.

"There, too, lies the Missouri river, turbid, dangerous, uncertain, full of snags and sandbars, and ever changing channels, causing high insurance, costly transportation, and subject to many drawbacks and disappointments. Yet there the river runs, affording steamboat navigation for 2,000 miles to the west of us, and bearing a commerce which has trebled in three years, and now requiring an average of one steamer per day for every day in the year. Doubtless, during the past extraordinary year, not less than 40,000 persons have been passengers upon that river. But what may be regarded as the regular number of travelers I have no means of ascertaining. It may not, possibly, exceed 15,000. The number of tons brought out by the steamboats, omitting flats, rafts and keels, estimating 355 arrivals here at an average of 200 tons the boat, would be 71,000 tons. Supposing them to carry the same up the river, and the total number of tons is 142,000, and we may add to the catalogue as lying yet to the west, the fertile territories of the Indians, the great plains, the new State of New Mexico, the mountains, the new States of Deseret and of California, and the territory of Oregon.

"Now, then, in view of these people and objects, and territories, and things unnumbered and perhaps undiscovered, at the West, of what advantage would be a railroad in respect to them, and in respect to St. Louis?

"The great modern historian of England has well said, that next to the alphabet and the printing press, those inventions which abridge distance have done most for the civilization of mankind. We may add, truly, that the railroad is the great apostle of progress. Though it has come into existence within the memory of most of us, and there be those among us who have never seen one, yet experience has demonstrated that it possesses magical powers to revolutionize commerce, to increase wealth and intercourse, to stimulate industry, and to develop and make available the resources of a country to the fullest extent. It has been proven to possess unequalled advantages for locomotion, and advantages which remunerate the cost. It has superseded the canal, and it is constructed without fear and without loss, upon the banks of the most splendid water courses in competition with the perfection of steamboat navigation.

"It carries out the city into the country; it brings the country and its abundance into the city. It equalizes the value of the products of labor, it gives new life to business, cheapens and expedites transportation, gives it certainty and punctuality, distributes the comforts of civilization, and makes travel a delight. What then would it do for us? Stimulating every species of industry in the vicinity of its route, it would in the immense increase of production and travel, quadruple business. St. Louis, instead of being dull in the winter in consequence of closed navigation, would be lively through all the season. The merchants would no longer be subject to disappointment in sending forward their goods, the farmers and produce dealers in the interior would no longer be compelled to lose a season before realizing the value of their crops. The grazer would no longer be subject to loss in driving his stock to market, and the consumers and the packers would get better meat. Real estate in St. Louis generally would be greatly enhanced in value, as it would, likewise, along the entire route and within a day's journey of it, and in some places its value would be increased a thousand fold. New towns would spring up in the interior, and all the tillable lands along the route would be brought into cultivation. There would not be a farmer in any of the counties through which the road should be located, but would feel its benefits in the enhanced value of his property and productive industry of every kind. * * * * *

"Now let us, for a moment, imagine this road to be completed. Let us enter the depot, or station-house, which is the largest house in the city. Here we see boxes of merchandise of all sizes, and various articles of household and farming utensils, hogsheads of sugar, sacks of coffee and of salt, barrels of molasses and of whisky, kits of mackerel, boxes of raisins, bundles of paper, wagons in pieces, small carriages, kegs of nails, bars of iron, boxes of Indian goods, and of hats, and of shoes, glass, tar and turpentine, and a vast variety of articles marked for the towns in the interior, and some of them for Santa Fe, and some for Deseret, which the men are at work placing in the freight train. There is none of that disorder and flurry which exists upon the levee, but all is neatness and order, and conducted systematically, and under the strictest discipline and accountability. But the bell is ringing—we will take our tickets and step aboard the passenger train, with fifty or sixty other passengers, who are destined for various points along the line of the road. Off we go, at the speed of 25 miles the hour. We have not gone five miles when the pace is slackened and we observe one or two gentlemen jumping off at their suburban residences. A few miles further is a platform and a turn out. Here several are waiting to get in, and several also get off to go to their dwellings. Here also we observe a string of open cars laden with coal. We pass on, scarcely having time to observe the fine residences which city gentlemen have constructed all along each side of the road; but we stop every few minutes to let off a passenger or two and take on as many more, so that our number is kept about the same. Here we pass a train, standing in a turn out, loaded with wood, with a few cars of baled hay attached. The country on either side seems to be full of busy men, and every farm occupied. Directly we reach a water station, where we observe immense piles of cord-wood, and many men still engaged in hauling and cording. Here, also, is a small refreshment house, and here again we leave and take a few passengers. Directly we come in sight of the Missouri, and catch a glimpse as we pass of a steamboat with a small freight and few passengers, puffing away and hard on a sand-bar. Soon we meet a freight train loaded with pigs of lead, and copper and iron, from Franklin county. In about two hours from St. Louis

we are at the Union station, where we discharge a few passengers, and where we observe large piles of metal in pigs. Though stopping now and then to leave or take a passenger, or to supply the engine with water, we are soon in Gasconade county; we pass cars laden with cannel coal, and we discharge at the Hermann station a number of Germans and their baggage, and we observe some cars receiving freight, some of it apparently pianos, and quite a number of pipes one would suppose to be wine, all the manufacture of Hermann. We are soon, however, at the crossing of the Gasconade, which is a grand bridge of solid masonry, of great strength and durability. Here is quite an important station, and we notice a number of new buildings going up on lots sold by the company, immense quantities of yellow pine lumber piled up, and a number of cars, with an engine attached, ready to start for St. Louis with a heavy load of lumber. On we go, into Osage, stopping at the Linn station, and discharging and receiving passengers; but before we are aware of it, we are at the Osage river, and at another fine structure, by which we cross it. We observe a draw in the bridge, to admit of the passage of small steamboats. A small boat is lying just above the bridge, discharging freight consisting of a variety of articles from the Osage valley, at a depot conveniently arranged, and a series of cars are receiving it. We observe also here a few new buildings, and a yard full of live stock, destined for St. Louis per railroad. We hear of a scheme to penetrate, by a branch, the Osage valley. In scarcely three hours from St. Louis, we are taking a hasty dinner at the Jefferson City station, where we meet the down train, with about fifty passengers, and where we observe a number of cars also waiting their opportunity to pass down, loaded with bacon and beef, hides and peltries, dried fruits, beeswax, hemp, tobacco, eggs and poultry. We are scarcely an hour and a half from Jefferson City, before we were at the station, called the Boonville station, a few miles south of that flourishing town. Here quite a number of our passengers leave us. Our attention is drawn to a medley of noises arising from a freight train standing close at our side. We discover, through the bars, as our train moves on, that it is quite a long train of freight cars, some of them filled with live hogs and cattle, and some loaded with hemp and tobacco, on their way to St. Louis. We cross the Lamine, stop at the Saline station, and we are struck with the fine appearance of the country as we pass on, and observe numerous excellent farms. We leave a few passengers at the Lexington station, a few miles south of that place, and reach our station, perhaps not far from the mouth of the Kansas, about tea time, having been ten hours from St. Louis. Here our remaining passengers, to the number of twenty or thirty, dispose of themselves for the night at a good hotel, intending in the morning to be off for Independence and Liberty, and Westport, and St. Joseph, and other places up the river. The hotel is quite full of passengers, there being as many to go down as up, and in the station house is a freight train getting ready to start. It was remarked that there were not less than 1000 tons of freight on the road this day, and 100 passengers.

"Now, although this be an imaginary trip, who can doubt, who knows any thing of railroads, that the picture would be fully, if not more than realized, upon the opening of such a road."

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1. NEW ORLEANS LEVEE DUES AND WHARFAGE.

THE general council, at New Orleans, recently adopted a new ordinance, regulating the levee and wharfage dues at that port, from which we make some extracts:

ART. 1. Be it ordained, that from and after January 1, 1850, the levee or wharfage dues on ships and other decked vessels, and on steam vessels arriving from sea, shall be fixed as follows: On all vessels of 1,000 tons, and under 25 cents ¢ ton. Excess of tonnage over 1,000 tons, 20 cents ¢ ton.

ART. 2. From and after the said January 1, the levee dues on steam vessels navigating on the river, and which shall moor or land in any part of the incorporated limits of the port, shall be fixed as follows: On all steamboats of 1,000 tons, and under, 15 cents p ton . Excess of tonnage over 1,000 tons, 10 cents p ton . Provided, that boats arriving and departing more than once in each week, shall pay only two-thirds of those rates.

ART. 3. From and after the said January 1, the following dues shall be exacted on each flat-boat, fully or in part laden with produce, materials, or merchandise of any kind, not measuring more than 80 feet, \$10 on each; boats measuring 80 to 100 feet, \$12. On each boat measuring over 100 feet, \$15. On each barge measuring more than 70 feet, \$12. On each barge measuring less than 70 feet, and not exceeding fifteen tons burden, \$8. On each steamboat hull, used as a barge, \$25. On each scow or coasting pirogue, \$2.

ART. 4. That article 3 of an ordinance of the general council, approved May 26, 1843, be, and is hereby amended; so that, hereafter, it shall not be lawful for any pirogue, flat-boat, barge, boat or keel-boat, to remain in port longer than eight days, under the same provisions and penalties contained in the said article 3.

2. ST. LOUIS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

TARIFF OF CHARGES, &c., ESTABLISHED BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE CITY OF ST. LOUIS, AND RECOMMENDED FOR GENERAL ADOPTION, WHEN NO AGREEMENT EXISTS TO THE CONTRARY.

COMMISSIONS.

On sales of country produce (tobacco in hhds. excepted), when the amount is under \$200,.....	5	p ct .
Over \$200,.....	2½	"
On sales of coffee, sugar and molasses,.....	5	"
On sales of other merchandise from the East or South,.....	5	"
On sales of lead,.....	1½	"
For purchasing and shipping merchandise or produce (with the exception of lead), with funds in hand—on the aggregate cost and charges,.....	2½	"
For purchasing and shipping lead,.....	1½	"
For guaranteeing sales on time— p mo ,.....	1½	"
For shipping to another market, produce or merchandise, on which advances have been made on gross sales,.....	1¼	"
For accepting drafts, indorsing notes, or bills of exchange, without funds, bills of lading or produce in hand,.....	2½	"
For cash advances, in all cases, even with produce or bills of lading in hand, with interest from date at 6 p annum ,.....	2½	"
For negotiating drafts or notes, as drawer or indorser,.....	2½	"
On sales or purchase of stocks,.....	1	"
On sales or purchase of boats, without guarantee,.....	2½	"
For procuring freight—on amount of freight,.....	5	"
For chartering boats,.....	2½	"
For collecting freight or accounts,.....	2½	"
For collecting delayed and litigated accounts,.....	5	"
For collecting dividends on stocks,.....	½	"
For adjusting insurance losses, if paid promptly at the expiration of 60 days from proof,.....	1¼	"
If not paid promptly at 60 days from proof,.....	2½	"
For effecting insurance—on amount of premium,.....	10	"
On outfits or disbursements,.....	2½	"

The above commissions to be exclusive of storage, brokerage, and every other charge actually incurred.

The risk of loss by fire, unless insurance be ordered, and of robbery, theft, and other una-

voidable occurrences, if the usual care be taken to secure the property, is, in all cases, to be borne by the proprietors of the goods.

Interest to be charged, at the rate of 6 p cent p annum , on all running accounts or debts, after maturity, until paid.

RATES

For receiving and forwarding goods, exclusive of charges actually and necessarily incurred.

Sugar, p hhd ,.....	\$0 37½
Tobacco, p hhd ,.....	37½
Pork, beef, whisky, molasses, lard and tallow, in bbls,.....	7
Flour, beans, wheat, beeswax and flaxseed, in bbls,.....	4
Corn, oats, wheat, salt, barley and flaxseed, in sacks, when under 100 sacks,.....	3
When over 100 sacks,.....	2
Lead, p pig ,.....	1
Nails and lard, p keg , when under 50 kegs,.....	3
Over 50 kegs,.....	2
Wool and hemp, p bale ,.....	6¼
Bacon, in hhds,.....	18
Bacon, in bulk, p 100 lbs ,.....	10
Bagging, p roll ,.....	4
Bale rope, p coil ,.....	2
Coffee, p sack ,.....	5
Hides, each,.....	2
Gunpowder, p keg ,.....	25
Carriages or wagons, each,.....	2 00
Gigs or carts, each,.....	1 00
Merchandise, assorted, p 100 lbs ,.....	10
Other articles in proportion.	

RATES OF STORAGE.

	Per month.
Tobacco, p hhd ,.....	\$0 50
Sugar, ".....	25
Molasses, ".....	50
Bacon, ".....	25
Liquor, " or pipe,.....	50
Oil, ".....	50
Oil, p tierce ,.....	37½
Flaxseed or rice, p tierce ,.....	18¾
Salt, p bbl ,.....	6
Oil, molasses or foreign liquors, p bbl ,.....	12½
Whisky and cider, ".....	10
Sugar, fish, lard, pork or beef, ".....	6¼
Flour, apples, bread, beans, ".....	4

Bacon, in boxes, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	4
Lard, in kegs,.....	2
Soap and candles, in boxes,.....	2
Wine, in boxes,.....	5
Raisins and figs, in boxes or drums,.....	2
Window glass, in boxes,.....	3
Window glass, in half boxes,.....	2
Hemp yarn, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	4
Hemp, in bales, $\frac{1}{2}$ bale,.....	8
Rope, in coils,.....	4
Piece bagging, 50 yards or less, longer in proportion,.....	4
Cordage, tarred or white, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	4
Salted hides, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Dried hides, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	10
Crate of queensware or cask, small size,.....	18 $\frac{3}{4}$
“ “ “ large size,.....	37 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bag of coffee, pepper, and pimento,.....	5
Iron, steel, lead and shot, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	5
Turpentine, $\frac{1}{2}$ bbl.,.....	10
Bale gunny bags,.....	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Manufactured tobacco, $\frac{1}{2}$ box,.....	8
Dry goods, or other merchandise, in assorted lots, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	5
Salt, $\frac{1}{2}$ sack, large size,.....	6
Salt, “ small size,.....	3
White lead, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg,.....	2
Nails, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg,.....	3
Dye wood, $\frac{1}{2}$ ton,.....	1 00

Hamper of bottles,.....	15 $\frac{3}{4}$
Ream of writing or wrapping paper,.....	1
Cask Cheese,.....	8
Tea, $\frac{1}{2}$ 100 lbs.,.....	10

Other articles in proportion.
The rule under the head of commissions, respecting fire, robbery, theft, &c., to apply also in case of storage.

AGENCY FOR STEAMBOATS.

Under 150 tons,.....	\$10 00 $\frac{1}{2}$ trip.
Over 150 and less than 300 tons, 20 00 “	
“ 300 “ “ 400 “ 25 00 “	
“ 400 and upward,.....	30 00 “

St. Louis, September 10th, 1849.

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

GEO. K. MCGUNNIEGLE, President.
EDWARD BROOKS, Vice President.
EDWARD BARRY, Secretary and Treasurer.

Committee of Appeals for 1850.

P. G. Camden, C. S. Greeley, Jas. E. Yeatman,
H. Van Phul, Jno. Simonds, Alfred Vinton.

Committee of Arbitration for January.

S. M. Edgell, A. I. McCreery,
Henry Glover, S. O. Butler,
T. B. Preston.

3. NEW ORLEANS CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

RECEIVING AND FORWARDING MERCHANDISE, EXCLUSIVE OF CHARGES ACTUALLY INCURRED.

Sugar, molasses and tobacco, $\frac{1}{2}$ hhd.,.....	50c.
Cotton, $\frac{1}{2}$ bale,.....	50
Hemp,.....	20
Moss,.....	10
Provisions or bacon, $\frac{1}{2}$ hhd.,.....	25
Do. do. $\frac{1}{2}$ tierce,.....	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
Pork, beef, lard, tallow, whisky, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel,.....	6
Flour, grain, and other dry barrels,.....	5
Lard, nails and shot, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg,.....	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Lead, $\frac{1}{2}$ pig,.....	1
Corn, wheat, beans, oats and other grain, $\frac{1}{2}$ bag,.....	3
LIQUIDS.	
Pipes and hhds.,.....	50
Half pipes and tierces,.....	25
Quarter casks and barrels,.....	12 $\frac{1}{2}$

SUNDRIES.

Boxes, bales, cases, trunks, and other packages dry goods,.....	10@50
Earthen and hardware, $\frac{1}{2}$ pkge.,.....	25@50
Iron and castings, $\frac{1}{2}$ ton,.....	\$1 00
Soap, candles, wine, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ box,.....	2
Coffee, rice, salt, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ bag,.....	6
Gungowder, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg,.....	25

STORAGE PER MONTH.

Cotton and wool, $\frac{1}{2}$ bale,.....	20c.
Tobacco, $\frac{1}{2}$ hhd.,.....	50
Hemp, $\frac{1}{2}$ bale, not exceeding 300 lbs.,.....	10
Do. do. do. 450 lbs.,.....	15
Do. do. do. 600 lbs.,.....	20
Do. do. do. 800 lbs.,.....	25
Moss, $\frac{1}{2}$ bale,.....	6
Bagging and rope,.....	5
Peltries,.....	10
Hides, each,.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Lead, $\frac{1}{2}$ pig,.....	1
Iron, $\frac{1}{2}$ ton,.....	\$1 00
Bacon and provisions, $\frac{1}{2}$ hhd.,.....	25
Pork, beef, lard, tallow, whisky, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel,.....	8
Molasses and oil,.....	10
Flour,.....	5
Lard, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sugar and molasses, $\frac{1}{2}$ hhd.,.....	40

Corn, wheat, oats and other grain, $\frac{1}{2}$ bag,.....	3
Coffee, spices, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ bag,.....	5
Salt,.....	3
Candles, soap, wine, fish, raisins, oils, sweetmeats, cigars, &c., $\frac{1}{2}$ box or cask,.....	2
Do. in half boxes,.....	1
Nails, $\frac{1}{2}$ keg,.....	2
Dry goods (as in bulk), $\frac{1}{2}$ pkge.,.....	10@50
Crockery, $\frac{1}{2}$ cask or crate,.....	25
Hardware, $\frac{1}{2}$ cask,.....	40
Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ tierce,.....	20
Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ bbl.,.....	10
Liquids, $\frac{1}{2}$ pipe or hhd.,.....	40
Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ half pipe or tierce,.....	25
Do. $\frac{1}{2}$ qr. cask or bbl.,.....	10
Claret, $\frac{1}{2}$ cask,.....	20
Gunny bags, $\frac{1}{2}$ bale,.....	8

COMMISSIONS ON SALES.

Sugar, cotton, tobacco, lead, flour, and other products of the soil,.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ ct.
Domestic manufactures and all foreign merchandise,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Guarantee of sales on time,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Purchase and shipment of merchandise or produce,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Sales or purchase of stocks or bullion,.....	1
Collecting and remitting dividends,.....	1
Selling vessels or steamboats,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Purchasing do.,.....	5
Procuring freights,.....	5
Collecting freights from foreign ports,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Coastwise,.....	5
Outfits and disbursements,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Effecting insurance,.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Adjusting and collecting insurance or other claims without litigation,.....	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
With litigation,.....	5
Purchasing and remitting drafts, or receiving and paying money on which no other commission has been charged,.....	1
If bills remitted are guaranteed in addition,.....	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bills and notes remitted for collection protested and returned,.....	1
Landing, custody, and re-shipping merchandise or produce from vessels in distress,.....	2

Do. bullion or specie,.....	1	On amount of advances, charges and liabilities on same,.....	2½
Adjusting and collecting general average,.....	5	For drawing, accepting, negotiating or endorsing notes or drafts without funds, produce, or bills of lading in hand,.....	2½
Consignments of merchandise withdrawn or re-shipped per order, on account of advances and responsibilities—full commission.		On cash advances in all cases,.....	2½
On the surplus amount of invoices of such consignments, deducting advances and liabilities—half commission.		For entering and bonding merchandise for the interior, on amount of duties, freight and charges,.....	2½
Drawing, indorsing or negotiating, foreign bills of exchange,.....	1½	besides the regular charge for forwarding.	
Do. on domestic bills of exchange,.....	1	Agency for steamboats—according to special contract.	
Receiving, entering and re-shipping merchandise to a foreign port—on amount of invoice,.....	1	The foregoing rates to be exclusive of brokerage and charges actually incurred.	

4. IMPORTATIONS INTO THE UNITED STATES.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Tribune furnishes the following summary statement of the quantity and value of goods, wares and merchandise, imported into the United States, during the year ending June 30th, 1849:

GOODS FREE OF DUTY.	
Gold and silver coin and bullion,.....	\$6,651,240
Tea, 16,319,789 lbs., valued at.....	4,071,789
Coffee, 165,334,700 lbs., valued at.....	9,058,352
Copper, in plates for sheathing vessels,.....	1,044,755
Other sheathing metal,.....	220,936
Copper ore,.....	177,736
Other articles free of duty,.....	1,152,557
Total amount free of duty,.....	\$22,877,665
GOODS PAYING DUTIES.	
Manufactures of wool and carpeting,.....	\$13,704,006
“ cotton,.....	15,754,841
“ silk,.....	14,175,767
“ silk and worsted and camblets,.....	2,487,305
“ flax and hemp,.....	6,427,016
Linen and cotton laces and insertings,.....	840,366
Ready-made clothing and other articles of wear,.....	587,500
Hats, caps and bonnets,.....	1,150,964
	\$55,128,456
Iron and Steel.	
Bar iron, manufactured by rolling, 173,457 tons, valued at.....	\$6,060,068
“ “ otherwise, 10,598 tons, valued at.....	625,770
Pig iron, 105,632 tons, valued at.....	1,405,613
Hoop and sheet iron, 25,028,782 lbs., valued at.....	543,256
Steel, 6,690 tons,.....	1,227,138
Manufactures of iron and iron steel, cutlery and hardware, inclusive,.....	5,297,116
	\$15,058,961
Lead, Copper, Tin and Brass.	
Copper and manufactures of copper and brass,.....	\$1,397,845
Lead and manufactures of lead,.....	86,257
Tin and manufactures of tin,.....	2,903,440
	\$4,387,542
Watches and parts of watches,.....	1,676,006
Metallic pens,.....	74,050
Porcelain, China, and other earthen ware,.....	2,483,219
Opium, 92,068 lbs., valued at.....	190,316
Raw hides and skins,.....	3,507,300
Wool, 17,869,022 lbs., valued at.....	1,177,347
Leather,.....	\$434,765
Gloves, for men, women and children,.....	772,217
Other manufactures of leather,.....	255,143
	\$1,460,125
Wine in casks, 5,186,437 galls., valued at.....	1,269,344
Wine in bottles, 460,092 doz., valued at.....	551,813
Distilled spirits, 3,402,859 galls., valued at.....	1,821,255
Molasses, 23,796,806 galls., valued at.....	2,778,174
Sugar, sugar candy and sirup, 259,326,584 lbs., valued at.....	8,049,739
Lined oil, 1,163,647 galls., valued at.....	487,920
Salt-peter,.....	462,065
Soda,.....	637,965
Tobacco, snuff and cigars,.....	1,720,305
Hemp, unmanufactured, 86,802 cwt., valued at.....	491,633
Manilla and other hemp of India, 56,806 cwt., valued at.....	196,634
Flax and tow of flax and hemp, 21,809 cwt., valued at.....	284,357
Rags, 14,941,236 lbs., valued at.....	524,755
Salt, 11,622,163 bushels, valued at.....	1,433,981

Coal, 198,213 tons,.....	409,282
Fish, 188,593 bbls., valued at.....	633,052
Potatoes, 71,558 bushels, valued at.....	20,602
Articles not specified, paying 5 per cent.,.....	1,702,012
“ “ “ 10 “	1,030,131
“ “ “ 15 “	280,078
“ “ “ 20 “	2,893,652
“ “ “ 25 “	155,090
“ “ “ 30 “	1,641,737
“ “ “ 40 “	141,741
All other articles,.....	10,607,531
Total products paying duties,.....	\$125,479,771
Total products free of duty,.....	22,377,665

Total imports for the year ending June 30, 1849,.....\$147,857,439

The whole quantity of iron, steel, castings, anchors, chains, cutlery, hardware, and all other manufactures of iron and iron and steel, amounted to about 345,000 tons. The weight of the hardware and some of the cutlery not being stated, the exact number of tons cannot be ascertained with any greater certainty than is above given.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. NEGRO LAWS OF SOUTHERN STATES.*

SOUTH CAROLINA.—SLAVES—THEIR CIVIL RIGHTS, LIABILITIES AND DISABILITIES;
MULATTOES, FREE NEGROES, ETC., ETC.

A FREE negro, mulatto, mestizo, or slave, being a distiller, vendor or retailer, of spirituous liquors, who shall sell, exchange, give or otherwise deliver, spirituous liquors to a slave, except upon the written and express order of the owner, or person having the care of the slave, shall, upon conviction (if a slave), be whipped not exceeding fifty lashes; if a free negro, mulatto or mestizo, be also whipped, not exceeding fifty lashes, and fined not exceeding \$50; one half of the fine to the informer, the other half to the State.

A slave, or free person of color (meaning as before suggested), convicted of a capital offense, is to be punished by hanging—if convicted of an offense not capital, a slave is to be punished by whipping, confinement in the stocks, or treadmill, or as is prescribed by the act of '34 (see ante 1st sec.)—imprisonment may be resorted to. A free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, is liable to the same punishment, or may be fined.

In all parts of the State (except in Charleston), slaves or free persons of color (meaning as suggested ante 19th sec.), are to be tried for all offenses by a magistrate and five freeholders; the freeholders are to be obtained by the magistrate, who issues the warrant, summoning eight neighboring freeholders, out of whom the prisoner (if he be a free negro, mulatto or mestizo), or the owner or overseer (if a slave), may select five to sit upon the trial, and upon good cause shown against any freeholder, to be determined by the magistrate, another shall be substituted in his place. If the prisoner, the owner, or overseer, should refuse or neglect to make the selection of the five freeholders to sit, the magistrate may himself make the selection.

In Charleston (including the parishes of St. Phillips and St. Michael's), slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, are liable to be tried for capital offenses by two judicial magistrates and five freeholders, or slaveholders, who, I suppose, ought to be obtained as directed—ante 22nd section—and in such cases there must be a concurrence of all of the freeholders, and one of the magistrates; in cases not capital, they are to be tried by two judicial magistrates and three freeholders or slaveholders, a concurrence of a majority of the jurors and the presiding magistrate, is enough for conviction; if the jurors be unanimous, then in that case the concurrence of the magistrate is dispensed with. In all cases, the ministerial magistrate, issuing the warrant, is to attend the Court, and act as prosecuting officer.

The anomaly is presented here of two different systems of jurisprudence for the State and Charleston. Both cannot be right, one should give way to the other.

The jurors, when organized, should be sworn by the magistrate, to well and truly try the case now pending before you, and adjudge the same according to evidence. So help you God.

A slave, free negro, mulatto or mestizo, charged with a criminal offense, is to be tried within six days, if it be practicable to give at least one day's notice of the time and place of trial to the free negro, mulatto, mestizo, the owner, overseer, or other person having the care and government of the slave—which notice must, in all cases, be fairly given before the trial can proceed.

On the trial of a slave, free negro, mulatto or mestizo, it is the duty of the magistrate to state in writing, plainly and distinctly, the offense charged against the prisoner, and for which he is on trial; to this charge the prisoner ought to be required to answer, either by himself, or through his guardian, master, owner, overseer, or other person having the care and government of such slave on trial, or by the attorney employed to defend such prisoner. In every such trial, the prisoner is entitled to the benefit of the services of an attorney at law, to defend him. The magistrate is bound to keep a correct statement of the testimony given against and for the prisoner,

* Concluded from March number, 1850.

and to annex it to the charge (the accusation). The judgment of the Court in the country districts and parishes, must be in writing, and signed by the magistrate and any four of the freeholders, or by the whole, if they agree. In Charleston, it must be made up as directed (ante sec. 23), and must be signed by those required to concur in it. It is in all parts of the State to be returned to the clerk's office of each judicial district, and be there filed.

When a slave, free negro, mulatto or mestizo, is capitally convicted, an application may be made to any one of the Judges of the Courts of Law of this State, in open Court, or at Chambers, for a new trial. The magistrate presiding, is required for such purpose, to furnish a full report of the trial; and if from that, as well as from affidavits on the part of the prisoner (which before being laid before the Judge must be shown to the magistrate presiding), the Judge should be satisfied the conviction is erroneous, a new trial is to be ordered, on which neither the magistrate, nor magistrates, nor any of the freeholders, who before sat on the case, are to sit again. To afford opportunity for this appeal to be made, or for an application to the Governor for a pardon, time, reasonable time, must be allowed by the Court between the conviction and the execution of the sentence.

Under these provisions, there is not any very well settled practice. Before a motion for new trial ought to be heard, reasonable notice of the time and place of such motion should be given to the magistrate presiding. When a new trial is ordered, I have always directed the clerk of the Court to summon the magistrate and freeholders, who should try the case *de novo*, and to give notice to all concerned, of the time and place of trial, and if necessary, to issue summons for the witnesses. This seemed to secure, in the best way I could devise, consistently with the law, an impartial administration of it.

The right of appeal, in cases not capital, and to afford sufficient time in such cases, for an application for pardon, ought to be provided for. For many are the errors and abuses of power committed in this behalf. The whippings inflicted by the sentence of Courts trying slaves and free negroes, are most enormous—utterly disproportioned to offenses, and should be prevented by all the means in our power. In all cases where whipping is to be resorted to, I would limit the punishment by law, in all cases affecting both black and white, to forty, save one, and direct it to be inflicted in portions, and at considerable intervals of time. Thus mingling imprisonment and whipping together, and holding the rod suspended, in the contemplation of the party, until the delay itself would be worse punishment than the infliction.

The tribunal for the trial of slaves and free negroes (a magistrate and freeholders of the vicinage), is the worst system which could be devised. The consequence is, that the passions and prejudices of the neighborhood, arising from a recent offense, enter into the trial, and often lead to the condemnation of the innocent. The Charleston scheme is better than that which prevails in the country. Still I think it none of the best. I would establish a tribunal to consist of one judicial magistrate, to be appointed by the Legislature, to try all criminal cases against free negroes, mulattoes, mestizos or slaves. He should be compelled to hold his Court on the first Wednesday in every month, at the court house; and he should have the power to direct a constable (whom he should be authorized to appoint to attend his Courts), to summon twenty-four freeholders or slaveholders of the district, and out of them a jury of twelve should be impaneled to try the prisoner, allowing him as far as ten, a peremptory challenge, and on cause shown, to the balance of the panel. The magistrate issuing the warrant, should be required to state the offense and act as prosecuting officer. To the charge thus presented, the prisoner should be required to answer; and he should have the benefit of an attorney's services, to defend him, on the law and evidence. The judicial magistrate should be required to charge the jury on the law and the facts, as a Judge of the Law Courts now do. The jury should simply say, guilty or not guilty. The magistrate presiding, should pronounce the judgment of the law. The prisoner on conviction should have the right of appeal to the Court of Appeals, and no sentence should be passed until the case was there heard, and the prisoner remanded for judgment. The judicial magistrate, his constable, and the magistrate issuing the warrant, should be compensated by fees, to be paid, in all cases, by the State.

Under the law, as it now stands, the State is liable for all the costs attending negro trials, (except free negroes, mulattoes and mestizos, in the parishes of St. Phillips, and St. Michael's, who, if convicted, and able to pay, are declared liable to pay the same, and also under the 21st section of the act of 1740, if the prosecution against a slave, free negro, mulatto, or mestizo, appears to be malicious, the Court trying the case, and satisfied of that fact, may order and compel the prosecutor to pay the costs). This provision of the 21st section of the act of 1740, is re-enacted, as to slaves, in the magistrates' and constables' acts for St. Philip's and St. Michael's, passed in 1829.

A slave cannot be twice tried, and punished, for the same offense.

If a slave be out of the house or plantation, where such slave resides, or without some white person in company, and should refuse to submit to, and undergo the examination of, any white person, it is lawful for such white person to pursue, apprehend and moderately correct such slave, and if such slave shall assault and strike such white person, *such slave may be lawfully killed*.

Masters, overseers, or other persons, have the power to apprehend and take up any slave found out of his or her master's or owner's plantation at any time, but more especially on Saturday nights or Sundays, or other holidays, not being on lawful business, or not with a ticket from the master, or not having some white person in company, and even with a ticket, if armed with wooden swords or other mischievous and dangerous weapons, and to disarm such slave, and all such mentioned in this section, to whip.

Any person is authorized to take up any runaway slave, and it seems, it is now the duty of the person taking up a runaway (when he knows, or can be informed without difficulty, to whom such slave belongs), to send such slave to the said owner; but if the owner be unknown, then, in Charleston district, it is the duty of the person taking up such runaway slave to send, within five days, the same to the work house in the city of Charleston: the master of the work house is to admit every such slave upon a certificate from a magistrate of the district, or mayor, or one of the aldermen of the city, containing the particulars of the apprehension of such fugitive slave, and requiring his confinement—in all other parts of the State the runaway slave is to be sent to the jail of the district. It is the duty of the master, jailor or sheriff, to securely keep the slave so committed, and if the same escape by negligence, the master or sheriff (for the jailor is merely

the sheriff's keeper), is liable to the owner for the value of the slave, or such damages as may be sustained by such escape. Information of the slave so committed to the care of the master of the work house, is to be by him sent to the owner, if known; if he be unknown, the master of the work house is to advertise such slave in the city paper (under the advice of the city attorney), giving the name, age, and other further description, so that the owner may be informed the slave is in custody. In other parts of the State, the runaway is to be advertised once a week for three months, in some public gazette, by the sheriff or jailer, who is also required, if the owner's name and address can be obtained, to give him specific notice of the confinement of the said runaway. The advertisement must contain the name, age, and other particular description of such slave, and the name of the person said to be the owner. The jailer or sheriff, and the master of the work house, is liable to a fine of 10s. or \$2 14 for such slave committed as a runaway, neglected to be advertised. The runaway is to be kept for twelve months, if not claimed by the owner, and in Charleston, proof of property made on oath before one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, or any magistrate, within twelve months from the date of the advertisement in Charleston, in other parts of the State, from the commitment, the runaway is to be sold. In Charleston the sale is to be made by city sheriff, he giving one month's notice of the time, place, and reason of such sale; he is to give to the purchaser a receipt for the money arising from such sale, specifying the reasons of the sale, and he (the city sheriff) is directed to pay the said proceeds to the city treasury. Out of the fund so paid over, is to be deducted the expenses of the said runaway, as provided and allowed by law. The balance is to be retained by the city treasurer, for the owner, but if not claimed within a year and a day it is to be paid into the State treasury, and out of it, I presume, the commissioners of public buildings of Charleston district are entitled to draw it, under the general law of '39. In other parts of the State, the sheriff of the district is to advertise the runaway for a month, and then to sell; and after paying the charges or expenses allowed by law, the balance is to be paid to the commissioners of public buildings, and is to belong to them absolutely, if not claimed by the owner of the slave so runaway, within two years. The title to be executed by the sheriff to the purchaser of such runaway, is good, and bars the rights of the owner. Any neglect or default in the duties required by the 53d section of the act of '39, subjects a jailer or sheriff to an action on the case.

A person taking up a runaway, and failing to send the same to the work house, or the district jail within five days, is liable to pay 20s. or \$4 28 cts. for every day the same may be retained. The person taking up a runaway is entitled to 10s. or \$2 14 cts. for taking up such runaway, 4d. or 7 cts. for every mile from the place where taken to the owner's residence (if the runaway be carried to the owner), or to the district jail or the work house, and half a dollar per day for the travel, computing the journey at twenty-five miles to the day. To entitle the person taking up a runaway to these allowances, he must carry the slave to a neighboring magistrate, who may examine on oath the captor, touching the time and distance he has necessarily traveled, and shall go with such slave, and the said magistrate shall give a certificate on a just estimate of such time and distance, and on presenting such certificate, the jailer is to give his note for the same payable to the bearer. The master of the work house is to pay the same, instead of giving a note. These fees are to be paid to the jailer, or master of the work house, by the owner, or out of the sale of the said runaway, if he should not be claimed by the owner and be sold.

It is the duty of the master of the work house, jailer, or sheriff, to provide sufficient food, drink, clothing and covering, for every runaway slave delivered into the custody of either. The jailer or sheriff is entitled to charge twenty cents per day for each runaway confined, and also for all necessary expenses in providing clothes or blankets. In the work house, a runaway slave is directed to be put to labor on the tread-mill, and therefore no charge for diet is made.

Each militia beat company, by its commander (except the company or companies on Charleston neck), is divided into convenient patrol districts. All the free white male inhabitants, above the age of eighteen years, of each patrol district, are liable to do patrol duty, except aliens or transient persons above the age of forty-five years, or who have not resided within the State for six months, or persons who are above the age of forty-five, who do not own slaves, or alien enemies. Persons liable to do patrol duty, may send in their places, respectively, an able-bodied white man, between the ages of sixteen and sixty, as a substitute; and for failing to discharge patrol duty, in person or by substitute, each person liable to do the same, without a legal excuse, is liable to pay a fine of \$2 for each default, and ten per cent. on his general tax of the preceding year.

It is the duty of the commanding officer of each beat company, to make out a roll of the inhabitants of each patrol division, liable to do patrol duty, and from such roll, at each regular muster of his company, to prick off, at his discretion, any number of persons to do patrol duty until the next muster, and appoint some prudent and discreet person to command the said patrol. If the officer commanding the beat company, fails to prick off, at each muster, the patrol of each division, or the commandant of the patrol fails in his duty, each of them is liable to a fine not exceeding \$30.

It is the duty of the commandant of the patrol to call them out at least once a fortnight, and to take up, and correct with stripes, not exceeding twenty, with a switch or cowskin, all slaves found outside of their owner's or employer's plantation, without a ticket or letter to show the reasonableness of his absence, or some white person in company to give an account of the business of such slaves; and also, if the slave have a ticket, and has in his possession, a gun, pistol or other offensive weapon, unless such slave be on lawful business, or in company with some white person not less than ten years of age. Fire arms, and other offensive weapons, found by the patrol in the possession of a slave, in violation of the above provisions, are liable to seizure by them, and condemnation and forfeiture to the use of the regiment to which the patrol may belong. To obtain such forfeiture, the leader of the patrol making the seizure, must, within ten days, go before the nearest magistrate, and make oath of the manner, time and place of taking, and if the magistrate shall be satisfied of the legality of the seizure, he shall summon the owner of the slave from whom the arms have been taken, to appear before him within ten days, to show cause why the arms should not be condemned. If the owner should fail to appear, or appearing, should show insufficient cause, the said arms or weapons shall, by certificate under the hand of the magistrate, be "declared condemned," and may be sold within ten days, and the proceeds, after payment of the costs, paid to the paymaster of the regiment.

The patrol have the power, and are required to enter into any disorderly house, vessel or boat,

suspected of harboring, trafficking or dealing with negroes, whether the same be occupied by white persons, free negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes or slaves; and to apprehend and correct all slaves found there, by whipping (unless, as I apprehend, such slaves shall have not only a ticket to be absent, but also a ticket to trade). The patrol is required to inform a magistrate of such white persons, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, as may be found in such house, vessel or boat, and to detain, until recovered by law, such produce or articles for trafficking, as may be therein found, if such detention be authorized by any three freeholders or any magistrate. It is the duty of the owner of each boat or vessel, navigating the public rivers or canals, of this State, to keep and produce to the magistrates or patrols, when required, a list of all the negroes composing the crew, with their owners' names and a description of their persons.

The patrol may, as is stated in the 44th and 45th sections of chapter 2d of this digest, break up unlawful assemblies of slaves, and inflict punishment on slaves there found, not exceeding twenty stripes, with a switch or cowskin.

Every owner of a settled plantation, who does not live on the same six months in every year, and who employs upon the same fifteen or more slaves, is required to keep upon the same, some white man, capable of performing patrol duty, under a penalty of fifty cents per month, for each and every working slave employed on the said plantation.

Patrols are not liable, in the discharge of their duty, to the payment of any tolls.

In incorporated towns and villages, the power and duty of regulating the patrol in the same, is vested in and devolved upon the municipal authorities of the same.

The captain of a beat company, cannot constitute himself the captain of a patrol.

The ticket or pass to a slave, need not state the place to which he or she is to go, and a patrol whipping a slave, with such a pass, are trespassers. The form given in the act of 1740, "Permit this slave to be absent from the plantation of A. B. until ———," or any other equivalent form, will be sufficient.

It is the duty of captains or commanders of patrol, to keep their respective commands in good order and demeanor, when on duty; and any patrol man misbehaving himself or neglecting or disobeying the orders of his commandant, is liable to a fine of not less than \$2, nor more than \$20. If the captain of a patrol acts disorderly, so as to defeat the proper execution of the patrol laws, he is liable to be returned by any member of his command, or any other person competent to give evidence, to the commanding officer of the beat company, who is to return him to a court martial for trial, and if found guilty, he may be fined not less than \$5, nor more than \$50.

Each captain of the patrol is required, at the next regular muster of the beat company, after his appointment, to make a return, on oath, of the performance of his duties. Failing to make such return, he is liable to a fine of \$20.

The penalties to be incurred by the commanding officers of beat companies, commandants of the patrols, and patrol men, for neglect of duty, or violation of law, may be imposed by courts martial.

If the patrol be sued, and the party suing, fail to recover, he is liable to treble costs; which is full costs, to which is added one half, and then half of that half.

The act of '39 in repealing all other laws on the subject of the patrol, *unfortunately* excepts the act regulating the performance of patrol duty on Charleston neck. The act of '23, so saved from repeal, differs in many respects from the general law, which it is now necessary to state. 1st. A majority of the company officers is to direct how the company is to be divided into patrol districts, and the captain is so to divide it, and it is so to continue until altered by a majority of said officers. The officers failing to do this duty, are liable to a fine of \$30, to be recovered in the Court of law (by indictment), as no mode is appointed by the act. 2d. All white males above eighteen and under sixty, residing in said patrol districts (except ministers of the gospel), all females owning ten slaves above the age of ten years, and all persons having settled farms, or a house and lot, with five or more slaves above the age of sixteen, residing within the said companies, are liable to do patrol duty. Females required to do patrol duty, must of course do so by substitute. 3d. The commanding officer, or officers of a company are to appoint, *in writing*, the leader of the patrol, whose qualification and term of office is the same as pointed out in section 40. The person so appointed refusing to accept, the commanding officer or officers of companies or the leaders of patrol, not performing the duties required, are liable to a fine of \$20, to be recovered by indictment, in the Court of law, and paid to the commissioners of cross roads. No person can be compelled to serve as leader, more than once in twelve months. 4th. The patrol is not only authorized to enter disorderly houses, &c., as stated in section 42, but, if resisted, they are authorized to break open doors, windows, and locks; they are required to produce to the magistrate, whom they may inform of white persons, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, found in houses, the produce or articles for trafficking found there, *to be disposed of according to law*. 5th. The leader of a patrol is, as is stated in section 49, to keep his command in good order, &c.; any patrol man, misbehaving, &c., is liable to a fine of \$2, to be imposed by the officers of the company to which he belongs, and to be paid to the commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. A leader acting disorderly may be proceeded against as stated in section 49; he is to be tried by a Court consisting of the officers of his company, or any three officers of the regiment, and may be fined \$10, to be paid to the same authorities, commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. 6th. A substitute for patrol must be between eighteen and sixty. 7th. Free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, found on Charleston neck, are to be treated by the patrol, as slaves, unless they produce their free papers, office copies, or other satisfactory evidence of freedom. If found out of their own houses, or the inclosure of their employer, not having a regular ticket from their guardian, after 9 P. M., from 20th September to 20th March, and 10 P. M., from 20th March to 20th September they are declared liable to be treated as slaves without a pass. 8th. No grocery, retail shop, or any store, shop, or place, wherein are vended spirituous liquors, is to be kept open on the Sabbath day, or any other day after 9 P. M., from 20th September to 20th March, and after 10 P. M., from 20th March to 20th September, any owner, or occupant violating this law, or trading, trafficking or bartering therein, with any slaves, free negroes, mulattoes, or mestizoes, is liable to a fine of \$50, to be recovered by indictment, in the Court of law, and paid to the commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. 9th. Each inhabitant of Charleston neck, liable to patrol duty, is required to provide and carry with him on service, a good gun or pistol, in order, with at least six ball cartridges for the same, or cutlass, under the penalty of \$2, and ten per cent. on his

general tax of the year preceding. 10th. The commanding officer of the company or companies on Charleston neck, may appoint a secretary, whose duty it shall be to prepare and lay before the military courts herein before mentioned, all necessary papers, and to keep a record of the proceedings of the same, which is to be open to the inspection of all interested. For this duty, he is exempted from patrol duty. 11th. The leader of each patrol may appoint a warner to summon the patrol; and for this duty he is exempted from the patrol. 12th. It is the duty of the officers commanding the companies on Charleston neck, and all magistrates, to inform the leaders of the patrols, of unlawful assemblies, of negroes (slaves), free negroes, mulattoes, and mestizoes. The leaders on receipt of this information, are to turn out their patrols, and discharge the duty required by law: failing to do this, they are respectively liable to a fine of \$20, to be paid to the commissioners of cross roads, Charleston neck. For uniformity sake, I think this act of '23, should be repealed.

The commissioners of cross roads on Charleston neck, by the act of '45, were authorized to build a guard house, and it provides that all free negroes, mulattoes, mestizoes and slaves, on Charleston neck, charged or found guilty of violating the law, shall be therein confined, and there punished; and also slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, taken up by the patrol, shall there be whipped according to the patrol law, unless the owner or person having charge of such slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, or their guardians, shall pay to the commissioners of cross roads, one dollar for each of said slaves, free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes.

THE RIGHTS—CIVIL AND CRIMINAL REMEDIES—AND LIABILITIES OF THE MASTER. ALSO THE LAW TO PREVENT THE DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE IN RELATION TO SLAVES AND FREE NEGROES.

The right of a master in a slave, and all which appertains or belongs to him, is that of property. If the slave be in the possession of another, his owner may maintain detinue for his specific delivery, or may have a bill in equity, to compel his possession to be restored (unless he may have been bought for sale, in which case the owner is left to his remedy at law), or may bring trover to recover the damages sustained in his conversion. The owner may bring trespass for any forcible taking of the slave from his possession, or for any forcible injury done to his person. So too, if a slave wander from the possession of the owner, and another employ him, the owner may bring assumpsit for his labor, or trover for the time he may be in the employment of a third person, or if such person *knew he was a slave*, the action on the case might be sustained. So too, if a bailee abuse or employ a slave differently from the contract of bailment, and he is killed or injured, the bailee would be liable to the owner. So too, a common carrier transporting a slave from one place to another, is liable for an injury to, the death, or loss of the slave, as he would be for other articles, with this exception, if he shows that he used proper care and diligence, and the injury, loss, or death, resulted from the act of the slave, then he would not be liable. Any employment of a slave, without the consent of the master, by which the slave is killed, or injured, makes the person so employing him, liable for the damages sustained by the owner. For personal property, in the possession of the slave, and commonly called the property of the slave, the master may maintain the same actions against one possessing himself of it, as he could for the slave himself. For harboring a runaway slave, knowing him to be such, an action on the case can be maintained by the owner.

A contract for the hire of a slave for a year is an entire contract: yet if the slave die, his wages will be apportioned. But if the slave be sick, or runaway, no deduction is to be made on either account. The owner is not liable, generally, for medical services rendered to his slave, while in the possession of one to whom he may be hired. The master is liable for medical services rendered to his slave without his knowledge, if the slave be in great danger.

By the 5th section of the act of '33, provision is made, if any white man shall beat or abuse any slave, quietly and peaceably being on his master's plantation, or found any where without the same, with a lawful ticket, that he shall forfeit \$50, to be recovered by and to the use of the owner, by action of debt, besides being liable to the owner, in action of trespass for damages. Under this provision, it has been held, that where a slave was found out of his master's plantation, but had a ticket, and was whipped by the party finding him, that the master could maintain the action under the act, and recover.

The act of '23, for the regulation of patrol duty on Charleston neck, section 4, provides if any white man shall *wantonly* beat, or abuse any slave, quietly and peaceably being in his or her owner's inclosure, or found any where without the same, with a lawful ticket, he shall forfeit fifty dollars, to be recovered by the owner, and to his use, besides being liable to the owner in an action of trespass for damages. This provision is identical with that of '33, except that, in the act of '23, the beating or abusing must be *wantonly*. In the act of '33 no such word is used. It may be, under the act of '23, malice or cruelty would have to be shown.

The third section of the act of 1747 provides, that if any overseer or manager shall employ, upon his own account or business, any of the negroes committed to his care, by sending them on errands, or in any other manner whatever, such overseer or manager shall pay the sum of 10s (equal to \$2 14) for every day he or they shall so employ any negro committed to the care of such overseer or manager. (This penalty, another part of the act, section 1st, directs to be recovered before a justice of the peace, magistrate now, in the manner and form prescribed for the recovery of small debts and damages.) The 3d section further provides, that, to establish the fact of the employment of the owner's slaves by the overseer or manager, the information of the negroes shall be sufficient, unless the overseer or manager will exculpate himself on oath.

In the case of Dillard vs. Wallace, I ruled that this provision was obsolete from non-user. The Court of Appeals, admitting that its enforcement had been hitherto unknown—and ninety years had then elapsed from its enactment—held that it was still not obsolete. It is, therefore, a law, however anomalous in its provision about evidence, still to be enforced.

If any slave shall be beat, bruised, maimed or disabled, in the lawful business or service of his master, owner, overseer, or other person having charge of such slave, by any person or persons not having sufficient cause or authority (of which cause the magistrate trying the case is to judge), he or they shall forfeit 40s. current money, equal to 5s 8d. sterling, or \$1 20, to the use of the poor of the district or parish. If the slave or slaves be maimed, or disabled from performing his or her or their work, the person or persons beating the slave shall also forfeit and pay to the

owner 15s. current money, equal to about 44 cents, for every day he may be unable to discharge his usual service, and the charge of the cure of such slave. If the damages in the whole do not exceed £20 current money, equal to \$12 27, they, as also the penalty for the use of the poor, may be recovered before a magistrate; and if the offender shall produce no goods, on which the same may be levied, the magistrate is authorized to commit him to jail until the same be paid.

These provisions have been very little noticed, and furnish so poor a relief for the abuse to which they apply, that they will rarely be resorted to. The action of trespass is an abundantly better remedy. Still, this law exists, and may, in the case described in the act, be resorted to by owners, if they choose so to do. They cannot, however, have this remedy and also an action of trespass.

Any person who shall give a ticket or written permit to a slave, the property of, or under the charge of, another (without the consent, or against the will, of such owner, or person having charge), authorizing such slave to be absent, or to deal, trade or traffic, such person is liable to be indicted, and, on conviction, to be punished by fine not exceeding \$1000, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months.

Notwithstanding this act, a person who might give a ticket to a slave, with a view to aid a slave in running away, and departing from his master's service, might be tried and capitally convicted under the act of 1754.

If a white person harbor, conceal or entertain, any runaway or fugitive slave, he or she is liable to be indicted for a misdemeanor, or prosecuted in a civil action for damages, at the election of the owner or person injured. If indicted and convicted, the offender is liable to a fine not exceeding \$1,000, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve months. The owner may proceed by indictment, and also civilly, at the same time—he cannot be put to his election until the trial.

If a person be maimed, wounded or disabled, in pursuing, apprehending or taking, any slave that is run away, or charged with any criminal offense, or in doing any thing else, in obedience to the act of 1740, he shall receive such reward from the public as the General Assembly may think fit; and if he be killed, his heirs, executors or administrators, shall receive the same.

I do not know that any claim has ever been made under this law. Still, however, it seems to be of force, and a claimant would be entitled to the benefit of its provisions.

The Court trying and capitally convicting a slave is to appraise the same, not exceeding \$200, and certify such appraisement to the treasurer of the division, within which the slave may be condemned; and, in the event of the slave being executed in pursuance of the sentence, the treasurer is directed to pay the appraisement to the owner.

If a white person game with a free negro, mulatto or mestizo, or slave, or shall bet upon any game played, wherein one of the parties is a free negro, mulatto, mestizo or slave, or shall be willingly present, aiding and abetting, where any game of chance is played, as aforesaid, in such case, such white person, upon conviction by indictment, is liable to receive thirty-nine lashes, and to be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the Court; one half of the fine is to go to the informer, the other half to the State.

Any shop-keeper, trader or other person, by himself or any other person acting for him or her, who shall buy or purchase from any slave, in any part of this State, any corn, rice, peas or other grain, bacon, flour, tobacco, indigo, cotton, blades, hay, or any other article whatsoever, or shall otherwise deal, trade or traffic, with any slave not having a permit so to deal, trade or traffic, or to sell any such article, from or under the hand of his master or owner, or such other person as may have the care and management of such slave, upon conviction, is liable to be fined, not exceeding \$1,000, and to be imprisoned not more than twelve months nor less than one month. It is the business of the party trading with the slave, to produce and prove the permit.

If a slave enter a shop, store, or house of any kind, used for dealing, trading and trafficking, with an article, and come out without the same, or enter without an article, and come out with one, it is sufficient evidence to convict the owner, or person occupying the same for trade, in an indictment under the act of 1817.

If a white person, being a distiller, vender or retailer, of spirituous liquors, shall sell, exchange, give, or in any otherwise, deliver any spirituous liquors to any slave, except upon the written and express order of the owner or person having the care and management of the slave, he shall, upon conviction, be fined not exceeding \$160, and imprisoned not exceeding six months; one half of the said fine to the use of the informer, and the other half to the use of the State.

One effect resulting from the act, and certainly neither intended nor anticipated by the legislature, was to repeal the penalty of the act of 1817, quoad distillers, venders and retailers (the very persons who, above all others, ought to bear the heaviest penalties), in relation to the sale or exchange of spirituous liquors. The rule of evidence established by the act of 1817, as to the production and proof of the permit, still remains in force.

In an indictment for trading with a slave, or giving or delivering spirituous liquors to a slave, it is necessary that the slave should be described, when possible, by his own and his owner's name, or, if that be not possible, by some equivalent description of the slave.

Indictments under the act of 1834, although the rule of evidence established by its 5th section does not apply, and so, too, under the act of 1817, where the trading is not in a "shop, store, or house of any kind, used for trading," yet if the slave be seen to enter with an article, and come out without it, or to enter without an article and come out with one, it is a fact from which, at common law, a presumption may arise of guilt, and on which the jury may convict.

It was decided, immediately after the passage of the act of 1817, that the sale to a slave of any article whatsoever, or purchase from a slave of any article whatsoever, belonging to the slave, his master, or any other person, was a violation of the law.

If the master or overseer, or other person having charge of the slave, send a slave with goods to detect another in dealing, trading or trafficking, with a slave, and stand by and see the trading, it does not excuse the defendant—he still is guilty.

If the owner, or overseer, or other person having charge of the slave, go with him to make the sale or purchase, and stand by and assent to the same, the vendor would not be guilty. For then the trading might be regarded as that of the master by his slave.

If the trader be in the habit of trading with slaves, and had authorized his clerk so to trade, he may be convicted for a trading with a slave by his clerk in his absence. But the principal

cannot be criminally answerable for the act of his clerk, unless done with his knowledge and consent, actual or implied. The same rule holds as to a partner.

An overseer trading with his employer's slaves may be indicted and convicted under the act of 1817.

Before the act of '34, a person who sold liquor to a slave might be indicted for trading with a slave without a ticket, and also for retailing. It follows, since the act of '34 is substituted for that of '17, so far as the penalty is concerned, that a person now may be indicted for selling, giving, exchanging or delivering, spirituous liquors to a slave, and for retailing without a license, although there be but one sale and delivery.

If one sell spirituous liquor to a slave, or to another for him, without a permit from his owner, employer, or other person having charge of him, and the slave die in consequence of the too free use of the liquor so sold, the person so selling is liable, in an action on the case, for the value of the slave to the owner.

A license to retail cannot be granted to an applicant, unless he will swear that he will not, during his license, sell, give, exchange, barter, or otherwise deliver, spirituous liquors to any slave contrary to the law on that subject. If he has been engaged before in the business, he must also swear that he has not, during his past license, sold, given, delivered, exchanged, bartered, or otherwise delivered, spirituous liquors to a slave contrary to law.

If a master, or other person having charge of a slave who may be accused of any capital or other crime, shall conceal or convey away such slave, so that he cannot be brought to trial and punishment, such master or other person shall be liable to forfeit £250 current money, equal to £35 16s. 5d. or \$153 58, if the crime be capital; if not capital, then the forfeiture is £50 currency, equal to £7 3s. 3d., or \$30 70. This provision, in capital felonies, supersedes the common law offense of accessory, after the fact in a crime committed by a slave, so far as owners and other persons having charge of a slave may be concerned.

A master is liable for the acts of his slave, done negligently, unskillfully or willfully, in the course of any public employment or business carried on by him, under the authority, or with the consent of his master. As where a slave navigating his master's vessel, so negligently managed his craft as to injure a wharf or to run down a car of fish; or, where a slave carpenter, with his master's assent, actual or implied, undertakes to repair a house, and, in doing it, does it so unskillfully that the whole building falls down; or, where a slave blacksmith, in shoeing a horse, becomes enraged with him, and willfully knocks out the horse's eye with his shoeing hammer—in all these cases, the master is liable, according to the principles which I have above stated.

The master is not liable for the unauthorized acts of his slave, done without his knowledge or consent, actual or implied, and not in any public business or employment, in which he has placed his slave.

Any person or persons who shall, on his, her or their own behalf, or under color or in virtue of any commission or authority from any State or public authority of any State in this Union, or any foreign power, come within this State, with the intent to disturb, hinder or counteract, the operation of laws, made or to be made, in relation to slaves, free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, are liable to be arrested, and, if not bailed, committed to jail by any of the judges of this State, including the recorder, for a high misdemeanor; and, on conviction, is liable to be sentenced to banishment from the State, and to be fined and imprisoned at the discretion of the Court.

Any person within this State, who shall, at any time, accept any commission or authority from any State, or public authority of any State in this Union, or from any foreign power, in relation to slaves or free persons of color, and who shall commit any overt act, with an intent to disturb the peace or security of this State, or with intent to disturb, counteract or hinder, the laws of this State, made or to be made, in relation to slaves or free negroes, mulattoes or mestizoes, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and, upon conviction thereof, shall be sentenced to pay, for the first offense, a fine not exceeding \$1,000, and to be imprisoned not exceeding one year; and, for the second offense, he shall be imprisoned seven years, and pay a fine not less than \$1,000, or be banished from the State, as the Court shall see fit.

The Governor's duty is, to require all persons who come into this State, for the purposes, and under the circumstances, stated in the first section of the act of '44, and the preceding 29th section of this digest, to depart from the State in 48 hours after such notice; and such persons shall thereupon be bound to depart; and, failing to do so, they are guilty of a high misdemeanor, and, upon conviction, are to be sentenced to be banished from the State, and to such fine and imprisonment as the court may think expedient.

Any person convicted a second or any subsequent time, under the first and third sections of the act of '44, set out in the preceding 29th and 31st sections of this digest, is to be imprisoned not less than seven years, to pay a fine not less than \$1,000, and to be banished from the State.

It is the duty of the sheriff of the district, to execute the sentence of banishment, by sending the offender out of the State; and if he shall return (unless by unavoidable accident), the sheriff of the district where he may be found is "to hold" him in close confinement, under the original sentence, until he shall enter into a recognizance to leave the State and never to return.

Free negroes, mulattoes and mestizoes, entering this State as cook, steward or mariner, or in any other employment, on board any vessel, in violation of the provisions of the 2d section of the act of '35, and which is set out and prescribed in the 59th section of chapter 1, of this digest, and who may be apprehended and confined by the sheriff, are not entitled to the writ of *habeas corpus*.

If the sheriff shall, by the usual posse comitatus and the civil authorities, not be able to enforce the provisions of the act of '35, the Governor, on a requisition made on him and signed by the sheriff, is required to order out a sufficient number of the militia to meet the exigency of the case, to be placed under the command of discreet officers, who shall be ordered to give the sheriff the aid necessary to execute the said act.

1. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF DEATH.

In the last number of that ably conducted work, the *Medical Journal* of this city, Dr. Dowler publishes a singularly attractive and interesting communica-

tion on the *Natural History of Death*. Dr. Dowler is one of the most learned men in the country, and laborious, to a degree that scarcely any other than a German student could exceed. He has accumulated, already, many large volumes of manuscripts, upon subjects of the highest interest and importance. His published papers have enjoyed a high reputation in this country and in Europe. Long may the life of so rare and so useful a man be spared to the cause of science. In the pamphlet before us, Dr. Dowler is rebutting the presumptions of *premature burial* in our country, and, as far as possible, examines to determine their infallibility, the usually relied upon evidences, or *signs*, of *death*. These consist of prolonged absence of the sounds of the heart; simultaneous relaxation of the spinetters; sinking of the globe of the eye, with loss of transparency of the cornea; cadaveric rigidity; the absence of muscular contractibility under galvanism; putrefaction. The doctor examines these, and finds that many of them cannot be relied upon at all. The Shakspearean criteria of death will not fail, he says, once in a thousand years:

"Send me a looking glass;
If her breath will mist or stain
Why then she lives."

He also proposes the feather:

"By these gates of breath
There lies a downy feather;
Did he suspire, that light and weightless doom
Perforce must move."

The Friar tells Juliet what the signs of death are:

"No pulse shall keep
His natural progress, but surcease to beat;
No warmth, no breath;
The roses on thy lips and cheeks shall fade
To pale ashes; thy eyes' windows fall;
Each part deprived of supple government
Shall stiff and stark and cold appear."

The Shakspearean test, the Doctor thinks, may be fortified by other respiratory phenomena, viz.: the peculiar progressive, or, rather, retrogressive manner by which respiration recedes from the lungs to the trachea, from the latter to the larynx, from the larynx to the mouth, and from the mouth to the very lips, &c. We extract a few passages from the pamphlet on the

PAINS AND PLEASURES OF DEATH:

"There is much evidence extant, showing that death is often unattended with severe suffering. Boileau, the poet, while in the agony, did not appear to suffer. He saluted a friend that entered his room: 'Good day, and adieu—a very long adieu'—and instantly expired. The poet Fontenelle, just before he died, said that he had no pain, only a little difficulty in keeping up life.

"Goethe, at the age of eighty-two, died at Weimer, March 23d, 1832, without any apparent suffering. A few minutes before his death, he called for writing materials, that he might express his delight at the arrival of spring. 'If I had strength to hold a pen,' said Dr. Wm. Hunter, during the agony, 'I would write how easy and delightful it is to die.' 'If this be dying,' said the niece of Newton, 'it is a pleasant thing to die.' 'If this be dying,' said Lady Glenorchy, 'it is the easiest thing imaginable.' 'I thought dying had been more difficult,' said Louis XIV. When a by-stander remarked of Dr. Wollaston that his mind was gone, the expiring philosopher made a signal for paper and pencil, wrote down some figures, and cast them up.

"The poet Keats, who, as his biographers affirm, and as his epitaph indicates, died of a malicious criticism, pathfully remarked, in the agony: 'I feel the flowers growing over me. Whether this kind of death comes under the head of *euthanasia*, is not easy to determine. In my own practice, I have seen two almost instantaneous deaths, without a struggle, from moral causes. It is said that Dr. John Hunter intimated, on leaving home, that if a discussion, which awaited him at the hospital, took an angry turn, it would prove his death. A colleague gave him the lie; the coarse work verified the prophecy, and he expired almost immediately in an adjoining room.'

"Now proof that death may take place without pain, is afforded by the recent discovery of anæsthetic agents; as ether, &c. Several persons, in different nations, have died, from inhalation, in less than one minute, according to the reports of sundry competent witnesses. The inhalation of ether or chloroform, unmixd with atmospheric air, will, doubtlessly, kill as certainly as hanging. Hence, it is to be hoped, that the benevolent legislators of our country will provide that criminals may elect this pleasant mode of execution.

"Fainting, a temporary death, is painless. Death sometimes approaches the character of a perturbed sleep; not more painful, probably, than the nightmare. The snoring, or rattling respiration, is not necessarily accompanied with intense suffering.

"The pain of death differs greatly in different cases. In sun-stroke, in the first degree, always fatal (generally so in less than an hour), there is not a trace of sensation; as tested by blood let-

tings, sinapisms, cold water, ice, &c. There is evidence extant, showing that persons who had undergone apparent death—and with it, probably, all the pains of actual death—had suffered little, *except during resuscitation.*

"The ideal of death, particularly a violent death, is frightful. Its actual suffering must often be trifling, as in case of death from a cannon ball. A few persons have expressed a preference for a violent death as being the easiest. Sir John Moore, Nelson, and others, expressed a wish to die, as they did, in battle. Pliny considered an instantaneous death the greatest felicity of life; and Augustus held a somewhat similar opinion. Caesar desired the death which was most sudden and unexpected."

"With respect to apparent (or what is the same thing, so far as *sensation* is concerned), real death from drowning, the testimony appears to show that it is almost painless. The London Quarterly Review says, 'The struggles at the outset are prompted by terror, not by pain, which commences later, and is soon succeeded by a *pleasing languor*; nay, some, if not the majority, *escape altogether the interval of suffering.*' A highly distinguished officer, still living, speaks of the *total absence of pain* when under the waves; but adds a circumstance of startling interest, namely: that during the few moments of consciousness, the whole events of his previous life, from childhood, seemed to re-pass with lightning-like rapidity and brightness before his eyes."

"Of all modes of execution hitherto practiced, there can be no doubt that hanging is the best. I have seen it performed in the most bungling manner, so that the criminal's legs reached the ground; nevertheless, the death was almost instantaneous, and almost without a struggle. The London Quarterly Review maintains that the evidence is full and complete, showing, from persons restored to life, that death from hanging is as easy as could be desired; all agreeing that after a momentary uneasiness, a *pleasurable* feeling immediately succeeds; beautiful colors, of various hues, start up before the sight, which having been gazed on for a short time, all the rest is oblivion. Although this direct internal evidence cannot be obtained in cases of decapitation, yet external evidence is not wanting to show the persistence of sensation for a *considerable period* after this latter mode of execution. It is said that the lips of Mary, Queen of Scots, moved and prayed for a quarter of an hour after she was *beheaded*. As the word "*murder*" was called into the ear of a criminal who was executed for this crime, at Coblenz, the half closed eyes opened wide, and he stared with an expression of astonishment at those who stood before him. Wendt relates, that, having put his mouth to the criminal's ear, and called him by name, the eyes of the decapitated turned to the side from whence the sound came."

"Death from congelation, frightful as it is usually thought to be, judging from the pain which a slighter degree of cold produces, is nearly free from suffering. Here the proof is abundant. During the retreat of Napoleon's grand army from Moscow, in 1812, cold, in connection with fatigue and want, destroyed more soldiers than battle—amounting to one hundred and thirty-two thousand. The benumbed soldier laid himself down to sleep in the snow, knowing well, from daily observation, that it would prove to be his winding sheet. Intense cold, it has been observed, produces a tendency to sleep, which is at once delicious and almost irrepensible. To resist only, is painful. The patient prefers yielding to the fascination, fatal though it be. Larrey, the chief surgeon of the grand army, describes death from cold as beginning with paralytic torpor, and ending in an apoplectic slumber. Beaupre, one of his coadjutors, yielded himself to this '*delicious sleep*,' but was fortunately aroused by the cries, oaths and blows, of two soldiers who were killing an exhausted horse that had fallen near him. He arose, leaving eight frozen corpses at the spot where he had been slumbering."

"Nature, kinder to man than he is to his brother man, deals gently with the dying, and smoothes the way to the tomb. There is not a single disease in the whole nosology, but what is, in its most painful form, euthanasia bliss, compared with the horrible tortures, particularly by fire, which the Church and State invented and practiced at former periods."

"That pious king, Henry VIII, the reformer, publicly executed, often with the most horrible tortures, no fewer than 22,000 persons, in England and Wales, chiefly for heresy against himself and God! According to Dr. Dick, the inquisition caused 34,655 to be burned alive, for heresy, during the 278 years ending in A. D. 1759; and, at different periods, thirty thousand ladies were burned by that tribunal, for witchcraft alone. Science was made to stand by, in order to determine how far torture could be practiced without extinguishing life too soon, lest the sufferer should fail to *taste the agony sufficiently.* The rack, impalement, drowning, quartering, the wheel, the screw, the wedge, and the like, were pleasant, compared with those slow fires which were kindled for such as dared to think for themselves."

"In 1827, in Gottingen, and in 1841, in Prussia, the cruel punishment of the wheel was still used."

"The victim, stretched around the wheel, after various other tortures, his limbs having been broken, at intervals, in eight places, by blows with an iron bar, was, at length, in some cases, allowed the favor of two or three blows over the stomach, called *coups de grace*; but even these coveted blows often failed to extinguish a tenacious vitality."

"The mental and moral aspects of death deserve the utmost attention of the physician, since it is his duty, as far as in him lies, to

"Minister to a mind diseased,
Pluck from the memory a rooted sorrow,
Raze out the written troubles of the brain,
And, with some sweet, oblivious antidote,
Cleanse the stuff'd bosom of that perilous stuff
Which weighs upon the heart."

3. BLACK AND MULATTO POPULATION OF THE SOUTH.

[In a late number, we referred to the publications of a New York society in opposition to the abolition movements going on in their midst. From one of these pamphlets we make an interesting extract.—Ed.]

The Hon. Mr. Clingman, of North Carolina, has addressed a letter to the census board, urging the importance of more accurate information than has hither-

to been elicited with reference to the black race, and especially to that portion of it in which there is a mixture between the black and white races. The last census was notoriously faulty in this respect, and, owing to the conflicting extremes of opinion and assertion which have been adduced by the parties who are associated most intimately with the interests of the negro population, nothing like a true knowledge of the state of the black race in the United States has been arrived at. In the South, the negro is described as hardly human—incapable of refinement or intellectual advance; while the abolitionists extol him as naturally the equal of the white man, physically and mentally. So that it is a mooted question whether slavery has degenerated, or freedom at the North has improved, the negro.

It appears, at all events, certain that the mixed race exhibits powers *more* susceptible of cultivation than the pure African. They are selected at the South for the performance of duties requiring higher capacities than are possessed by the mere field negro; and at the North, every day's observation shows that the mulatto is endowed with mental gifts superior to his black brother. But whether the mulatto deteriorates physically in proportion as he ascends in the intellectual scale, is the question of the highest importance, considering the ratio in which this portion of our population is increasing.

It has been lately asserted by men who have made this branch of science their study, that the hybridity of animals is, in course of time, fatal to their powers of procreation—and that after two or three generations, the mulatto (the hybrid man) loses this power, as does the mule. This theory argues a diversity of the human race; and is, of course, violently opposed by the advocates of its unity; but hypothesis and controversy are alike powerless to elucidate a truth which depends upon statistics for its developments. Hence the importance of Mr. Clingman's suggestion to ascertain not only the number of all such persons, whether free or slaves—of extending inquiries as to the parents of the mulatto population, whether they were black, white, or mixed—and going on still further back, where necessary, until the pedigree is traced back to the individual white and black races. In connection with this subject, a writer in the Boston "Medical Journal" states the following facts, which are said to have been collected from authentic statistics:

1. That the longevity of the pure African is greater than that of the inhabitants of any other portion of the globe.
2. That the mulattoes (*i. e.* those born of parents, one being African, and the other Caucasian, or white) are decidedly the shortest lived of any class of the human race.
3. That mulattoes are more liable to die under the age of twenty-five, than the whites or blacks, between these ages—from forty to fifty-six, 50 to 1—and from fifty-five to seventy, 100 to 1.
4. That the mortality of the free people of color in the United States is more than one hundred per cent. greater than that of the slaves.

It is questionable whether the negro will care about a change to freedom, if its only benefit is *a short cut to the grave*. There is no question but slavery is an evil, but statistics of mortality proves, that as far as the negro is concerned, poverty is *one hundred fold* the greater evil.

The abolitionists seem always to be unacquainted with one fact—that the relation between master and slave, was one of the first and most universal forms of property and servitude in the world. Mr. Calhoun may be sneered at by some of the long eared Solomons of the northern press, but his arguments on this subject have never yet been answered. He says truly that the slave property is so ANCIENT, that there is NO RECORD OF ITS ORIGIN. It is probably more ancient than separate and distinct property in lands, and quite as easily defended on abstract principles. So far from being created by positive enactment, I know of no instance in which it ever was, or to express it more accurately, in which it had its origin in acts of legislatures. It is always older than the laws which undertake to regulate it, and such is the case with slavery as it exists with us. They were for the most part slaves in Africa—they were bought as slaves, brought here as slaves, sold here as slaves, and held as slaves, long before any enactment made them slaves. I even doubt whether there is a single State in the South, that even enacted them to be slaves. There are hundreds of acts that recognize and regulate them as such, but none, I apprehend, that undertake to create them slaves. Master and slaves are constantly regarded as pre-existing relations.

4. NEW ORLEANS ENTERPRISE.

How melancholy is the reflection, that we are here almost without hope of any display of public spirit. Every thing worthy of the name proves to be an abortion. There is no man will put his shoulders to the wheel—no man will bring forward his capital. The citizens will assemble in thousands and pass resolutions about a Tehuantepec railroad, but who knows now what has become of that road, and of the committee that were appointed to report? What is the condition of the Belvidere iron works? Where is the projected cotton factory, which, some months ago, was stated in course of immediate organization? What is the condition of the scientific and literary departments of the University? A building is half finished, and will remain half finished, for all the money is gone!

New Orleans is the third city in the United States in population, and the second in commercial rank; the sum of our home trade, in exports and imports, reaching, in value, nearly \$175,000,000—little short of the whole *foreign* commerce of the country a few years ago!

With such a population and such a commerce, we have, up to this period, contributed not a single great public work—reaping, to use a figure of speech, and considering what nature has done for us, where we have not sown. In this period, and a little longer, Boston and New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charleston, Savannah, and now Mobile, have thrown out arms of iron to grasp every part of the great interior surrounding them; and, by the railroad and the canal, have created for themselves artificial rivers, promising, and in some cases even now realizing, as prolific wealth as our great Mississippi brings to us.

What have we to compare with the thousand miles of railroads centering at Boston, the five hundred miles tributary to New York, two to three hundred to Charleston and Savannah? Forsooth the Ponchartrain and the Carrollton railroads, which, taken together, make at least twelve miles, and the Mexican Gulf railway, which, with all the iron of the old Nashville road, drags its slow and rickety way along to lake Borgne. And this, too, even at the moment that the enterprise and energy and resources of our sister city, Mobile, are being poured into the lap of a company, who are vigorously prosecuting a road which shall connect her with the mouth of the Ohio river.

But we are met by those who tell us—True, we have no railroads, but we do not require them. Shall a man wear glasses who sees very well, or use crutches who can *run* and read. No; nature has superseded, in our case, the necessity for artificial works, in giving us ten thousand miles of water courses, whose floods lave our levees.

Thus we are lulled to sleep by this syren, and shall only be aroused when the scepter is departed and our strength is shorn forever; and men shall say of us, as they have of another commercial mart,

“In youth she was all glory—a new Tyre!”

and chronicle another illustration, that

“Trade’s proud empire hastes to swift decay.”

If we had nothing to fear from the competition of our neighbors, in the unrivalled natural advantages we control, how comes it that, in comparing the progress of the city with that of the great West, New Orleans has *relatively* declined. Why, at this moment, St. Louis, our great tributary, is connecting herself with Cincinnati and the great lakes, on the route to New York, by a railroad. Both St. Louis and Cincinnati are rapidly gaining upon New Orleans in population, whilst, in the last ten years, if the census of 1840 be relied upon, which is doubtful, New Orleans has gained scarcely any thing.

With all our ten thousand miles of magnificent “*inland seas*” at our doors, the receipts of produce at the Hudson river, from the back country, including the West, have reached \$75,000,000, verging very fast upon the receipts of New Orleans; and the railroads of Boston have, for ten years, augmented rapidly the population of that city. The mouth of the Mississippi, in this age of science, commercially, is as well at Boston as at the Balize. The cities of Charleston, Savannah and Mobile, seek to cut us off from the valley of the Tennessee. We have seen a statement, that merchandise can be carried from that river to Charleston as cheap as it can be brought here. Can we doubt where it will go? The Governor of Virginia, a few days ago, tells us that the flatboat, loaded at the falls of St. Anthony, will soon be found floating in the James river. CRESCENT.

5. BOOK NOTICES.

BOOKS FROM THE HOUSE OF HARPER AND BROTHERS, THROUGH J. B. STEEL, NEW ORLEANS.

1. HUME'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1850, in six volumes. We have received the first volume of this work, through the courtesies of the publishers, and await, with some anxiety, the receipt of the others. The edition is a very neat and convenient one, and will, no doubt, meet with general favor from the thousands in our country who would study, from the highest authorities, the origin, development and progress, of those principles which have placed Great Britain at the head of the civilized world, and which, in their influences upon ourselves, have produced the most glorious results. Where can the American student go for light, with more certainty of finding it, illustrating the liberties and institutions of his country, than to the pages of English history? And, despite of his prejudices and political bias, no author can be read with greater profit and interest than the philosopher, David Hume.

This history is complete, from the invasion of Julius Caesar down to the abdication of the second James, and the establishment of the constitution of 1688. It is illustrated with a portrait of the author, and a biography prepared by himself.

We are delighted to find this valuable class of works now attracting the attention of American publishers. It evinces an improved public taste and sentiment among us. It was said, by Mr. Lyell, in 1848, of English writers in general, that they are better known in America than in Europe. He also states, on the authority of the Harpers, that, in a few months, 60,000 copies of Macauley's History of England were sold, where the London publishers had disposed of but 13,000 copies. The American sale of the book had only begun; 80,000 copies of the Wandering Jew were disposed of. We extract from Mr. Lyell his description of

HARPERS' PUBLICATION HOUSE.

"While in New York we were taken by our literary friend, Mr. Cogswell, over the printing and publishing establishment of the Harpers, the largest in America, and only surpassed, in the scale of its operations, by two or three in Great Britain. They give employment to three hundred men, manufacture their own types and paper, and have a book bindery under the same roof; for, in order to get out with the utmost dispatch the reprints of foreign works, not entitled to copy rights, they require to be independent of aid from all other traders. In one of the upper stories, a long line of steam presses was throwing off sheets of various works, and the greater number were occupied with the printing of a large, illustrated Bible, and Morse's Geography for the use of schools. In 1845, the Harpers sold two millions of volumes, some of them, it is true, being only styled numbers; but these often contain the reprint of an entire English novel, originally published in two or three volumes, at the cost of a guinea and a half—the same being sold here for one or two shillings. Several of Bulwer's tales are among these—40,000 copies of his "Last of the Barons" having just issued from this house."

2. LATTER-DAY PAMPHLETS, edited by Thomas Carlyle, No. I. *The Present Time*—Carlyle preserves his idiosyncracies of manner and thought in this pamphlet, and very powerfully exposes the disorganizing tendencies of modern European politics, and the reaction against established forms of government. He fears very much for the democracy of the age, characterized by him as "anarchy plus a street constable," and passes some severe strictures upon America, which were hardly worthy of a genius so elevated as Mr. Carlyle's. These sweeping denunciations evince a mind less liberal and informed than we had supposed his to be. "America's battle" he says, and here, perhaps, he speaks the truth, "is yet to fight. She will have her own agony and her own victory, but on other terms than she is yet quite aware of."

3. WHITE JACKET, OR THE WORLD IN A MAN OF WAR, by Herman Melville. Of this work, the London Morning Post says truly:

"The perusal of it has caused us so much real, sterling pleasure, that we felt it a duty we owe, both to its author and the public, to recommend it to the latter in the strongest manner. It possesses so much that is truly excellent, expressed in such poetical and noble language, that all who read it must be charmed with the originality and grandness of the author's mind, and acknowledge, at once, that his thoughts are no way inferior to his graceful and unaffected power of expressing them."

4. SKETCHES OF MINNESOTA, the New England of the West, with incidents of travel in the Territory during the summer of 1849, by E. S. Seymour, 1850.

Minnesota is almost a *terra incognita* to ninety-nine hundredths of our countrymen, and yet it has organized a territorial government, established schools, newspapers, towns, etc., and is growing daily in wealth and population. Thousands will not even be able to fix its local habitation, without reference to a map. It may almost be said to be the Maine of the Mississippi valley. On the northern boundary stretches out Canada; on the east, lake Superior and Wisconsin; on the south, that vigorous little democracy, Iowa; on the west, the waters of the Missouri and White Earth rivers. The name, Minnesota, is the Indian appellation for St. Peters river—*muddy water*. This little volume is prepared after a residence in the country, and is, no doubt, intended to influence

emigration thitherward. On a subsequent occasion, we may make it the ground work for some remarks upon the country.

5. *Cosmos*, a sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe by Alexander Von Humboldt, translated from the German by E. C. Otte, in two vols., 12 mo., p. 375, 367.

We have taken up the perusal of this work with no common zest. Though the style is close, compact, logical, and seldom rising into the ornate, there is a charm in the work which not often attends the labors of purely scientific men. What subjects can arouse the feelings and warm up the imagination in a higher degree, than those which the Baron Humboldt strings together, in unpretending array, in his *Cosmos*, which he defines to be "*universe, order of the world, and adornment of this universal order.*" From an introduction, in which he surveys the whole field of physical science, we pass to the various heads of stars, planets, comets, aerolites, phenomena of earth, earthquakes, plants, animals, man, races, language. The second volume contains two parts. 1, Inducements to the Study of Nature; 2, History of the Universe and the Progress of Discovery. This translation, by Otte, has the merit over Mrs. Sabine's of being more complete. The notes, by the author, are equally interesting with the text.

6. *MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF DR. CHALMERS*, by his son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, in three vols.—vol. i, 12 mo., p. 514.

Every line and page of this work, relating, as it does, to one of the most eminent men which the Christian church has produced in the present century, will touch a cord in the bosom of the faithful follower of the Cross, in whatever denominational caste he may be included. The literary man, too, will study the life and writings of Dr. Chalmers with eminent interest and profit. We believe that nothing, in our language, surpasses some of his discourses, in which he justifies as it were, the ways of God to man, by reconciling and harmonizing revelation with the results of physical science. He battles, with an irresistible arm, against infidelity, whether it come in the shape of vain scoffing or profound investigation. He meets the geologists, the astronomers and anatomists, and rescues the cause of the Bible from any danger to be derived through their investigations. The volume before us is occupied with the biography of Dr. Chalmers, his diary, correspondence, etc. We shall study it with profit, and commend it to our readers.

7. *LIFE OF JOHN CALVIN*, compiled from authentic sources, and particularly from his correspondence, by Thomas H. Dyer. 12 mo., p. 453, with a portrait.

Some years ago, we prepared, for the Quarterly Review, a critique upon the life of Calvin, by Dr. Smythe, of Charleston, and, at that time, studied rather critically the life of this eminent reformer. Mr. Dyer has used Calvin's correspondence chiefly, in preparing the work, and consulted Ruchat's History of the Revolution in Switzerland, Dr. Henry's Biography of Calvin, the Lives of Farrel, Beza, etc. He also quotes largely from Beza's Biography. "As the nature and character of Calvin's intercourse with the Anglican church, and with the Marian exiles, cannot but be of interest to an English reader, considerable attention has been devoted to this part of the subject, on which the author ventures to hope that more information is to be found than is contained in Dr. Henry's, or any other biography."

BOOKS FROM APPLETON & CO., THROUGH J. B. STEELE.

8. *MODERN LITERATURE AND LITERARY MEN*: being a second Gallery of Literary Portraits, by Geo. Gilfillan—2 vols., p. 376. These criticisms, upon men who have been most distinguished in the world of letters, are in a style peculiarly terse and vigorous, and characterized by some striking peculiarities. The paper upon Byron, gives a better metaphysical analysis of the poet than we have any where met with. We see the bard before us in all his faults and excellencies, his deformities and splendors. He was a stranger in this world, "entangled in its passing crowds, imperfectly adjusted to its customs, indifferently reconciled to its laws—among men, but not of them," etc. The other sketches are Milton, Macauley, Bulwer, Emerson, Cobbett, Moore, Longfellow, Shelley, Hemans, Croly, Hood, Crabbe, etc., etc.

9. *DICTIONARY OF MECHANICS, ENGINE WORK AND ENGINEERING*—Oliver Byrne Editor. We have the fifth number of this series, and trust the publishers will send them to us regularly. The leading articles included, are upon the bridge, calico machines, candles, cannon, carding engines, castings, &c. The work abounds with well-executed plans of machinery, etc.

The Messrs. Appletons have lately published Fresenius on Chemical Analysis, with a Preface by Liebig; Liebig's Familiar Letters on Chemistry; Parnell's Applied Chemistry; Bousingault's Rural Economy; Arnot's Gothic Architecture applied to Modern Residences, in numbers; Lafever's Beauties of Modern Architecture; Reynold's Treatise on Hand Railing, etc.

LINDSAY & BLACKISTON, PHILADELPHIA,

Have just published "Memoirs, Letters and Poems, of Bernard Barton," "The Convict Ship, by C. A. Browning, M. D.," "Rawson's Dictionary of Synonymical Terms," &c.

MARK H. NEWMAN & CO., NEW YORK,
Have published "Barrington's Physical Geography," "Jahn's Biblical Archaeology," etc., etc.

G. P. PUTNAM, NEW YORK.
"History of the Administration of James K. Polk," by Hon. Lucien B. Chase.

LEA & BLANCHARD, PHILADELPHIA.
"Lynch's Expedition to the Dead Sea," cheap edition; "Miss Ravanagh's Woman in France;" "Pulsky's War in Hungary," etc., etc.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & CO., BOSTON.
"Hume's History of England, in 6 volumes;" "Macaulay's History of England;" "Gibbon's Roman Empire;" "Lamartine's French Revolution;" "Lamartine's Atheism in France;" "Bennett's Poultry Book," etc.

PERIODICALS, ADDRESSES, &c.

10. THE NEW ORLEANS MEDICAL JOURNAL. Our friend, Dr. Hester, deserves well of the profession in every part of the country, for the zeal and industry with which this able work is edited. Under his management, it has increased in public estimation, and attained a wide circulation. Having been connected with the work from its infancy, and being now the sole editor, he has performed a mass of labors which we can, from experience, readily appreciate. The present number contains one of the papers of the late distinguished Harrison, upon Sensation; A Treatise upon the Blood, by Dr. Hort, which is ingenious, and, like every thing from his pen, original and valuable; Dr. Dowler's *Natural History of Death* we have noticed, in another page, and extracted from at large. The public will be long indebted to Dr. Barton for his invaluable Report upon the *Health of New Orleans*, illustrated by the most laborious and finely executed meteorological and mortuary charts, etc. To this we have also referred in another place, and stop now only to compliment the Journal on its enterprise in publishing the expensive chart. On page 691, Dr. McKelvy communicates a singular case at our hospital, of the "union of the two sexes in the same person."

11. NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. Boston: Little & Brown. The leading article, reviewing Irving's *Life of Goldsmith*, is a splendid paper—one of the finest we have ever read in the Quarterly. There is an able paper upon the *Politics of Europe*.

12. REPRINT OF FOREIGN REVIEWS. The *Westminster* contains the following papers: "Epidemics," a curious and most interesting communication; "Woman's Mission;" "Religious Faith and Modern Skepticism;" "The Caxtons," "Law of Bankruptcy;" "Railway Progress;" "African Coast Blockade;" "Foreign Literature," etc. The *North British* contains "Cockburn's Letter to the Lord Provost;" "Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture;" "Pope Ivan;" "Southy;" "Muller on Sin;" "Footprints of Creator;" "The Army and its Officers;" "The Marriage Bill." Leonard Scott & Co., are the publishers, J. C. Morgan, New Orleans.

13. DEMOCRATIC REVIEW AND UNITED STATES MAGAZINE. This work has now reached its 26th volume, and is edited by that most laborious and able writer upon commerce, finance and politics, Thomas Prentice Kettell, of New York. The portraits in each number of distinguished public men (and the present number contains two) are alone worth the subscription money, which is but \$3 per annum. The many literary articles which grace its pages, relieve the publication from any charge of monotony of subject. The leading paper on the "Federal Finances," we presume, is from the editor, as is also the *Financial and Commercial Summary*. The other articles are, "Lays of Ancient Rome;" "History of the Diving Rod;" "Sermon to the Clergy;" "The Jesuit;" "Judicial Encroachment;" "Sir Thomas Moore;" "Political Miscellany," etc.

14. BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW, Boston, April, 1850.

15. THE WESTERN JOURNAL, St. Louis, March, 1850.

16. THE PLOUGH, LOOM AND ANVIL, April, 1850.

We read the article by Mr. Brownson, reviewing the published works of the late Bishop England, with great interest. The name of that eminent divine has been endeared to us by many recollections of early life, when it was our fortune to meet with him in the field of his labors at Charleston. The Bishop was, however, too liberal a man in his notions to suit the tastes and prejudices of Mr. Brownson, especially in regard to the Pope, and slavery, etc. The *Plough, Loom and Anvil* (a most barbarous title this for a periodical: cannot Mr. Skinner coin some single term expressive of the three? Aristophanes made a word by combining the names of all the Greek gods together, which he used in his "clouds")—continues its publication of Carey on the "Harmony of Interests," a good, old-fashioned, protective-tariff paper. The *Western Journal* contains "Ship Canal across the Isthmus;" "Lewis and Clarke's Expedition;" "Railway in Missouri;" "New Madrid;" "Submerged Lands of Missouri;" "Agricultural Department;" "Commercial Law;" "Commercial Statistics;" "Miscellanies," etc.

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